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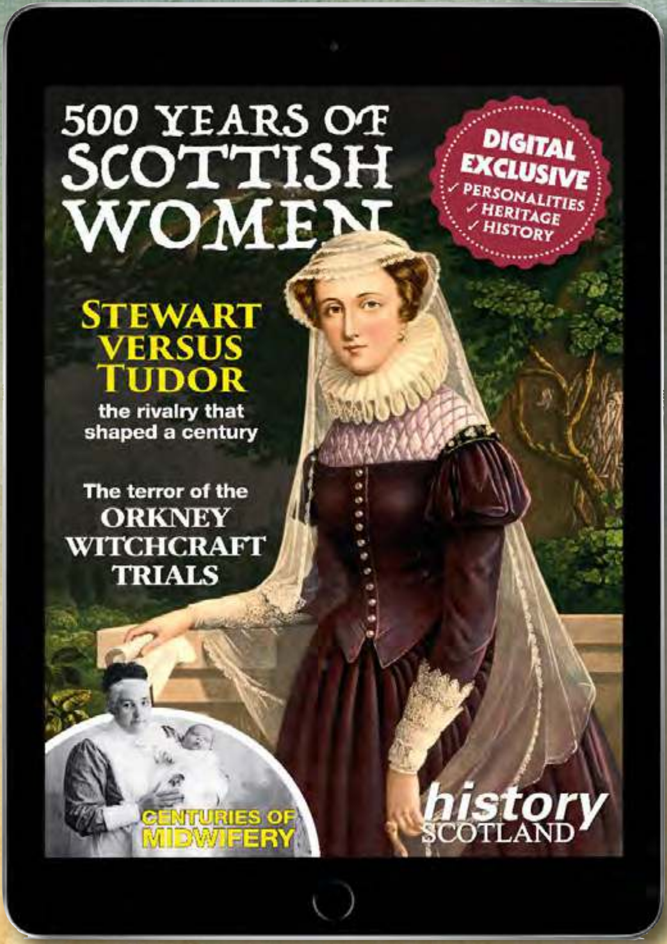
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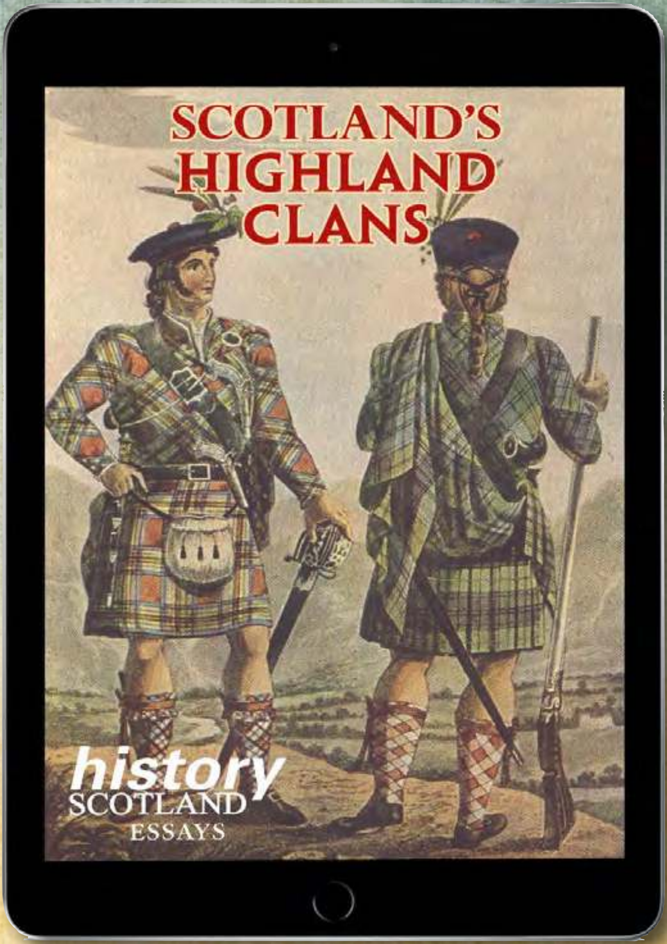
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History Scotland was launched in October 2001 at the Royal Museum in Edinburgh by Professor Christopher Smout, Historiographer Royal, who is now one of the magazine's patrons. It is backed by the Scottish history and archaeology professions with leading representatives from a variety of different disciplines on the Editorial Board.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life and the British Humanities Index

history SCOTLAND

www.historyscotland.com
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March /April 2020

FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome to March/April *History Scotland* and I hope you'll enjoy this issue of the magazine.

For so many of us, myself included, history is a lifelong love that begins at a young age, a theme that runs through Professor Christopher Whatley's article on Pabay (page 42). He describes childhood fossil hunts on the island: 'we would pocket masses of these fossils, aware that they were old, very old, but knowing little more than that…', setting these memories into context alongside his family's connections to this tiny Hebridean island, which has a unique role in the development of geology.

The theme of discovery continues with the launch of our new, two-part series on the role of Scots in the Thirty Years' War, and a look at how a community has been reconnected with its ancient heritage thanks to a new prehistoric trail.

Warm wishes
Rachel Bellerby
Editor, *History Scotland*

MEET THE CONTRIBUTORS

Steve Murdoch is Professor of History at the University of St Andrews. He researches early modern Scottish interactions with northern Europe. Steve specialises in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and the evolution of international maritime law (1513-1713).

Professor Murdoch is the author of a new, two-part series on the Thirty Years' War, beginning on page 24, as he explores the role of Scotland in this three-decade continental conflict.

Denis Frize is a graduate of Glasgow and Strathclyde Universities who has taught both in the UK and overseas. An active member of both The Robert Louis Stevenson Club and the Orwell Society, he has an abiding interest in history and biography.

On page 32, Denis explores the turbulent career of James Johnstone, aide-de-camp to Prince Charles Edward Stuart, followed by a period serving Louis XV of France in his struggle for control of Canada.

Duncan Simpson has recently graduated from the MLitt History of the Highlands and Islands at the University of the Highlands and Islands. He is interested in land management in the highlands pre- and post-clearance, and the decline of the estates in the 20th century.

In this issue (page 16), Duncan examines the career of Patrick Sellar, the land agent best known (and rightly derided) for his role in the Sutherland Clearances.

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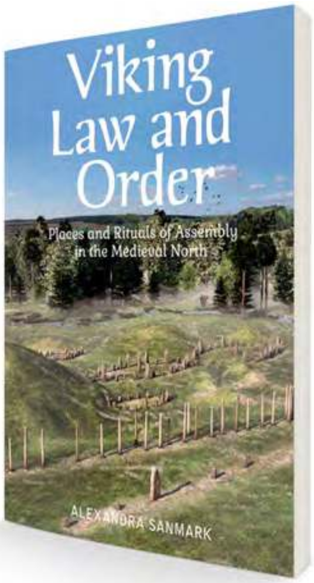

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HISTORY NEWS

Mummy conservation work to go on show

Visitors to Perth Museum and Art Gallery can now watch live as conservators perform the delicate task of treating museum objects inside a purpose-built conservation studio

The project, *Conservation in Action: Saving the Perth Mummy*, showcases how museums look after the fragile objects in their care. A highlight of the exhibition is the museum's ancient Egyptian mummy, Ta-Kr-Hb. The story of Ta-Kr-Hb is one that has fascinated visitors and staff since she was first presented to the Perth Museum from Alloa Museum in the 1930s.

The mummy was donated to the Alloa Society of Natural Science and Archaeology in 1936 by William Bailey, who purchased it from the curator of the government museum in Cairo. It had been discovered three or four years previously, possibly in or around Thebes, and was said to be 2,800 years old and thus dating to the period of the Late New Kingdom.

The Perth mummy has been kept safe in the museum stores, but conservation work is now needed to make sure her condition does not deteriorate and that she can be safely moved and displayed. It is hoped that conservation of the coffin lid will reveal more hieroglyphics, providing information about Ta-Kr-Hb's life.

Appearing alongside Ta-Kr-Hb will be further examples from the museums' diverse collection of over 430,000 objects. These include a rare 17th-century doublet, a mummified ibis, a Korean ceremonial helmet and a doll's house made by a high-ranking Nazi prisoner of war. The exhibition also explores some of the ethical questions museums consider around conservation.

The Conservation in Action installation marks the first time that Perth Museum & Art Gallery has hosted this style of display. It will bring rarely-observed conservation activities into the public domain, enabling visitors to have a first-hand experience of this crucial work.

Anna Zwagerman, conservation officer at Perth Museum and Art Gallery, said: 'It is such an exciting opportunity to share the live conservation treatment of the Perth Mummy with our visitors. This is a highly specialised process and not something people usually get to see'.

1620s doublet after conservation

The Perth mummy, Ta-Kr-Hb

THE HISTORY SCOTLAND LECTURES

With 2020 marking seven centuries since the creation of the Declaration of Arbroath, the famous statement of Scottish nationhood written during the Wars of Independence, the next instalment of the popular *History Scotland* Lectures will explore the making of this iconic document

'For Glory, Riches and Honours: The Rocky Road to the Declaration of Arbroath' is a free talk taking place at the University of Dundee's Dalhousie Building on Tuesday 28 April. In it, Dr Fiona Watson, a global authority on medieval Scotland, will discuss how and why the Declaration came about, assessing the role it played in the struggle for independence waged under the leadership of King Robert Bruce in the early 14th century.

Previously senior lecturer in history at the University of Stirling, Fiona Watson is now well known for her extensive work as a public historian across print, television and radio. Her books include *A History of Scotland's Landscapes*, *Macbeth: A True Story* and *Under the Hammer: Edward I and Scotland*. She is currently working on the second volume of a new biography of Robert Bruce.

The *History Scotland* Lectures have been running since 2018. A partnership between *History Scotland* and the Centre for Scottish Culture at the University of Dundee, the series aims to bring cutting-edge historical research to as wide an audience as possible. Previous instalments have covered Jacobitism, coastal history and the Scottish diaspora.

History Scotland's consultant editor Dr Allan Kennedy, a lecturer in history at Dundee and the organiser of the Lectures, said: 'We are thrilled to be hosting Fiona Watson for this important and very timely lecture. Even 700 years later, the Declaration of Arbroath feels fresh and vivid, and Dr Watson, who has spent a career bringing medieval Scotland to life for the general public, is an ideal guide. We would warmly invite anybody with an interest in Scottish history to come along for what promises to be a fascinating evening'.

'For Glory, Riches and Honours: The Rocky Road to the Declaration of Arbroath' takes place at the Dalhousie Building, Old Hawkhill, from 6pm on Tuesday 28 April. The event is free and open to all, although anyone interested in attending is asked to reserve their place by visiting https://scots.sh/hslecture4.

More information about the *History Scotland* Lectures is available from: https://scot.sh/hsmaglectures

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This year's line-up is being curated by DigVentures and Dr Anna Whitelock, Director of the London Centre for Public History and Heritage at Royal Holloway. And right at the heart of the festival, alongside the main speaker tent, is an archaeological excavation to unearth a lost Tudor garden. You can stand by and soak it all in, or take part in the archaeological investigations by booking a Dig or Finds Experience along with your ticket. Plus, the whole thing is taking place on the 500th anniversary of one of the biggest Tudor gatherings in history: the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

DigVentures would like to thank Lady Elizabeth Ashcombe and the Sudeley Castle team for making this event possible.

Full programme and individual speakers will be announced soon at: https://digventures.com/projects/dignation-2020/

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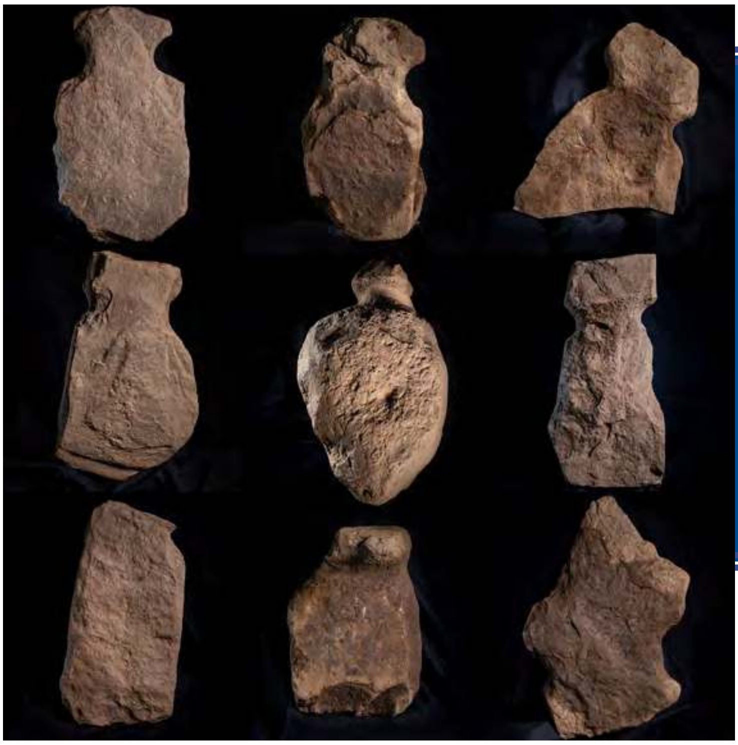


POSSIBLE BRONZE AGE FIGURES UNEARTHED IN ORKNEY

A team of archaeologists working at Finstown in Orkney has discovered a series of half-metre-tall stone-carved objects which appear to date from the late Neolithic or early bronze age

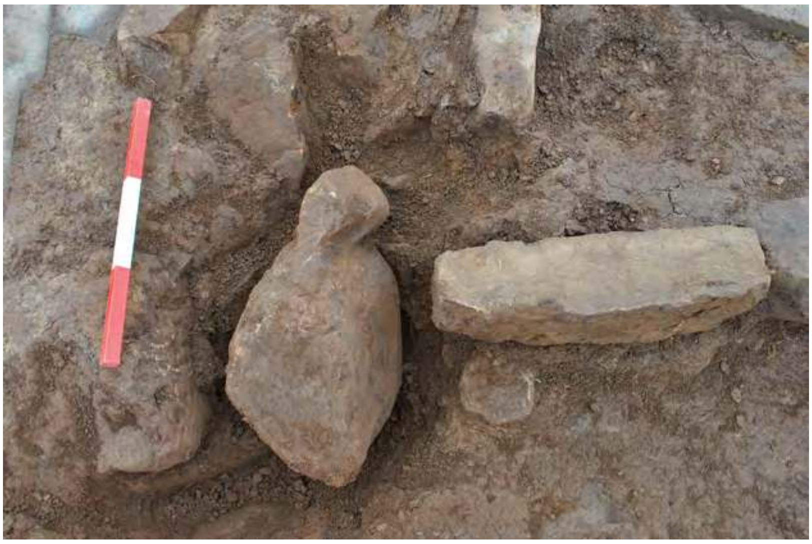
A selection of the finds

The archaeologists from ORCA Archaeology made the discovery while completing exploratory archaeological excavations connected with the development of an electrical substation on behalf of SSEN Transmission in Orkney, part of a proposed network reinforcement which is required to support renewable electricity generators across Orkney.

In total, nine carved stones have been unearthed in the remains of a structure revealed at the proposed Finstown substation site, after digging through 60cm of midden deposits.

Some of the objects look remarkably like stylised representations of the human form, whilst others look more like stones set upright into the floor of a bronze age building excavated by EASE Archaeology at the Links of Noltland, Westray. These may have been used to tie mooring ropes onto, to help hold the roof on.

The archaeologists working on site uncovered the carved stones scattered around a hearth within the remains of an enigmatic structure that contained three cists, two hearths and a partial ring of holes packed with broken-off upstanding stones. Three of the roughly-carved figures were also important enough to the people who used the building to be incorporated within the structure of one of the hearths and in the foundations of one of the standing stones. The purpose of the building and how it was used by the inhabitants of this site 4,000 years ago is still an enigma.



One of the finds *in situ* next to the hearth

Dating evidence

Dating the necked stones firmly will require further work, since they have also been found on iron age sites in Orkney. On initial evidence, the ones from Finstown possibly date to around the late neolithic or early bronze age, roughly 2000BC. Identifying the purpose of these stones, and if they are figurines, will also require further work, with a close study for abrasion, wear and any other marks on these anthropomorphic objects.

Professor Colin Richards from the University of the Highlands and Islands Archaeology Institute said: ‘This is a significant discovery in Orkney and probably within north west Europe. It is very rare to find representations of people in prehistoric Orkney and when found, they are usually individual or in very small groups. If they are figurines, to find nine figures within one structure is very exciting and together with the archaeology found at this site has the potential to add to our understanding of Orcadian society in prehistory’.

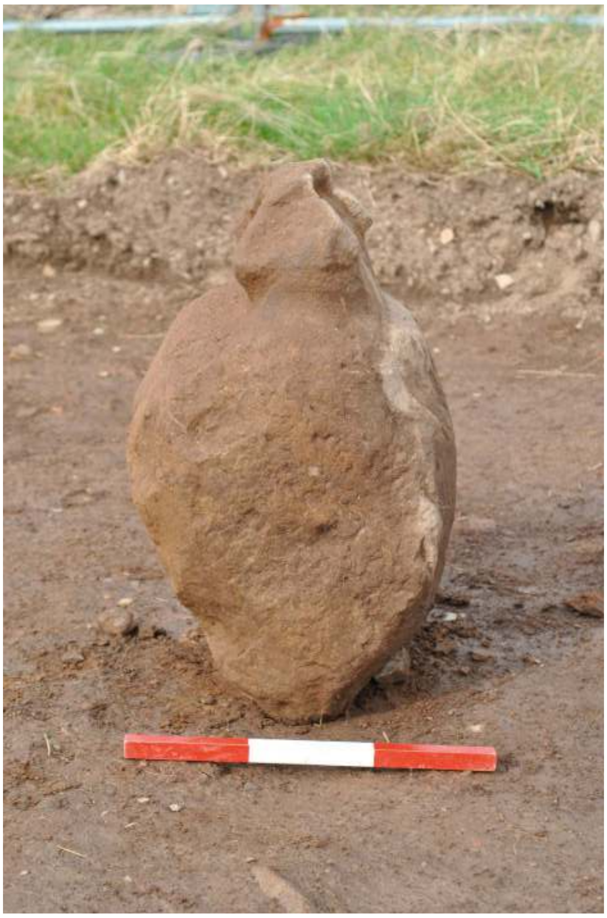
The ORCA Archaeology team were also intrigued to uncover direct signs of people working the land some 4,000 years ago. In one of the trenches, long marks were found cut into the clay subsoil, which were made by ards (stone plough shares), providing us with evidence for prehistoric farming in Orkney. These forms of prehistoric ploughs were constructed of wood with a stone shaped into a rough point placed into the wood to plough the soil ready for planting. The lines cross each other at various angles, further suggesting that the ground was cultivated by intensively criss-crossing with the ard point by these early Orkney farmers.

The survival of these marks together with the remnants of the early neolithic and bronze age settlement structures gives us an insight into the prehistoric use of this site over some 2,000 years, with people living, farming and burying their dead across this windswept hillside.

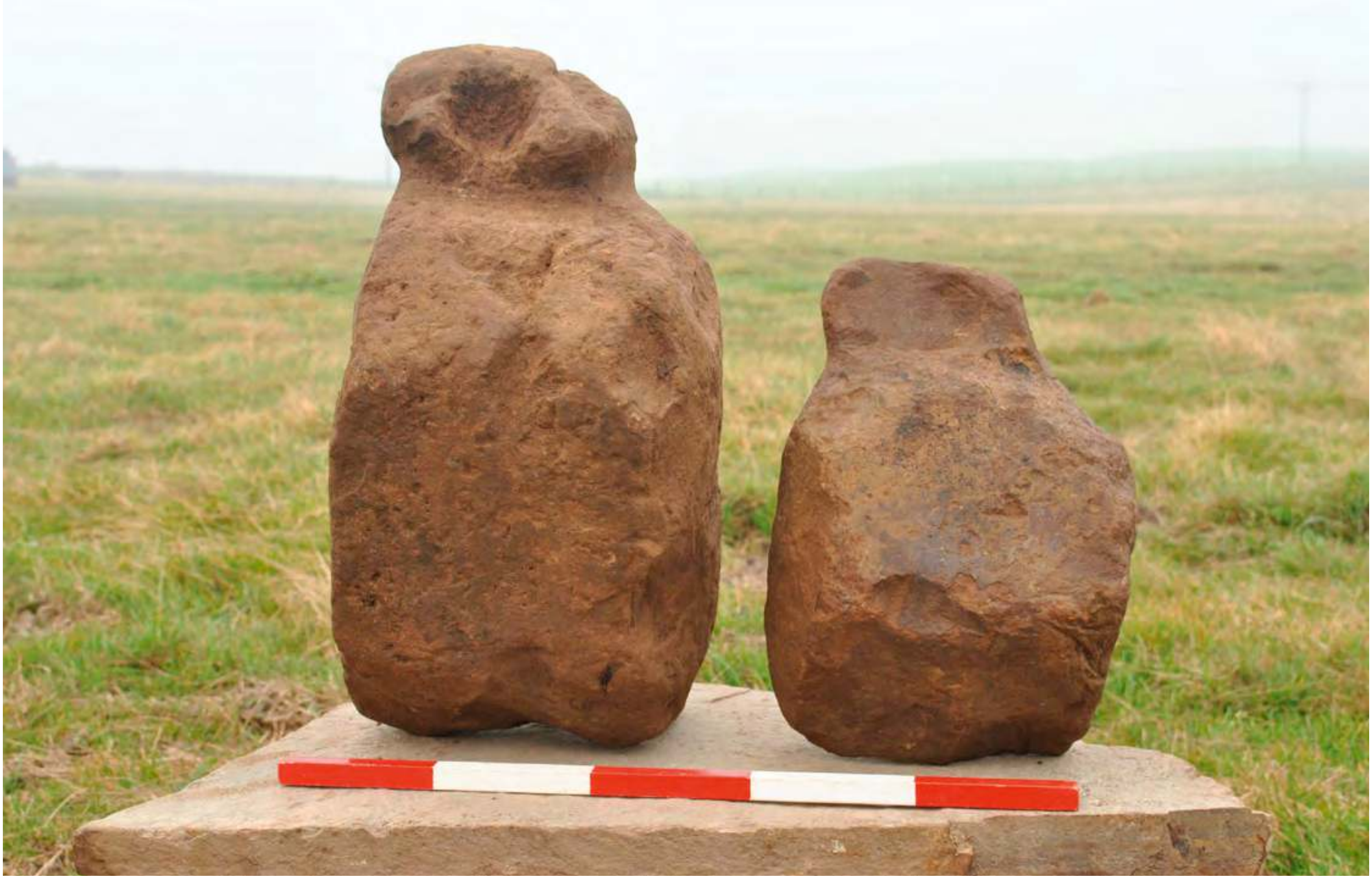
Pete Higgins, ORCA Archaeology Project Manager, said: 'This collaborative project with SSEN gives us the opportunity to examine an important prehistoric site that would otherwise not have been excavated. The exploratory trenches are now recorded and covered over, while the significant artefacts are now cleaned and stored for future study. Discussions will take place on the next steps for the development'.

SSEN environmental project manager Simon Hall added: 'We have been working closely with ORCA Archaeology for the past eighteen months while they have undertaken archaeological work at our substation site near Finstown. We are delighted that the team have been able to make such a significant find at the site, hopefully furthering the understanding of Orkney's rich heritage. We will continue to work closely with ORCA Archaeology and all relevant bodies to ensure this find is appropriately managed for the people of Orkney'.

For further information on the proposals, which remain subject to planning and regulatory approvals, visit: www.ssen-transmission.co.uk/projects/orkney/



Finstown figurine following removal from the ground and prior to cleaning



Two of the figurines before cleaning

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PLAYGROUND PREHISTORY

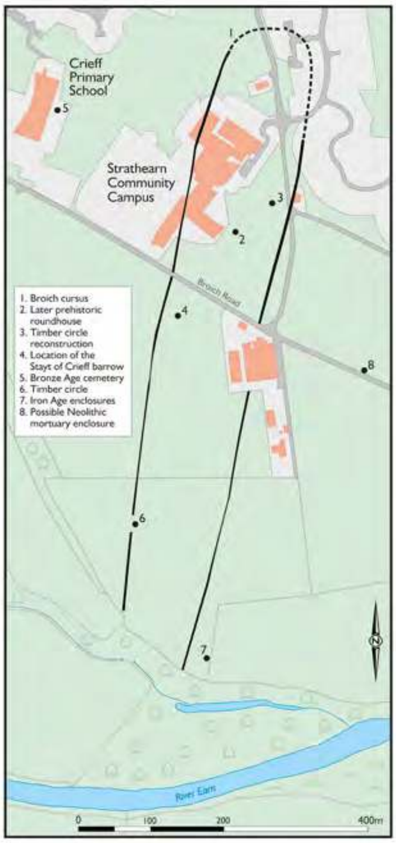
Kenneth Brophy and Ian Hamilton spotlight a community archaeology project in Perth and Kinross that has reconnected a community with its ancient and invisible heritage

Archaeologists often make the point that traces of our ancient past can be found anywhere, whether in our towns or the countryside, sometimes in the most unexpected of places. Yet we are usually completely unaware of the deep history, and deeper prehistory, that lies beneath our feet. This seems to be a missed opportunity to learn more about the heritage of the places where we live, work and play.

Over the past few years we have been involved in an exciting venture based at a community hub and secondary school in Crieff, drawing attention to the invisible, buried archaeological traces in and around this campus. Thanks to a team of enthusiastic collaborators and proactive support from school leaders and teachers, an archaeology trail has been created.

A trail does not sound especially innovative, but this one is: every point on the trail invites the visitor to imagine prehistoric ceremonies or medieval politics being played out. But the material traces of these ancient sites and monuments are no longer visible, either destroyed or buried by construction projects. The walk between the points on the trail encourages acts of imagination, travelling back in time, positioning oneself in relation to how this place was used in the past. We are helping a community re-connect with its invisible heritage.

The creation of the Strathearn Community Campus Archaeology Trail in and around Crieff High School emerged through a unique partnership of school and campus staff, working with one local heritage group, two universities, three commercial heritage companies, and assorted partners and collaborators, ranging from artists to craft specialists to PhD students.


Crieff Primary School
Strathearn Community Campus
Broich Road
1. Broich cursus
2. Later prehistoric roundhouse
3. Timber circle reconstruction
4. Location of the Stayt of Crieff barrow
5. Bronze Age cemetery
6. Timber circle
7. Iron Age enclosures
8. Possible Neolithic mortuary enclosure
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River Earn
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Left: Map showing the campus and walking trail locations, with the plan of the cursus monument overlain (prepared by Lorraine McEwan)

Funded by the Strathearn Archaeological and Historical Society, the Rotary Club of Crieff, Historic Environment Scotland, and Crieff Community Trust, the Trail is making a demonstrable difference to the life of the school community and campus users. But what is the archaeological story it is telling? The campus lies on the southern edge of Crieff, in a place that has a long history and even longer prehistory.

In the neolithic period (4000-2500 BC), this flat river terrace was a major focus of ceremonial activity. A cursus monument, Broich Cursus, was constructed in the second half of the fourth millennium BC. This massive rectangular enclosure was defined by a low, wide bank, and a broad, shallow ditch; the space enclosed was at least 100m across, and more than 800m long, the equivalent of eight football pitches laid side by side. This huge enclosure was probably an arena for communal gatherings, or processions towards the River Earn to the south. It is one of the biggest earthwork monuments constructed in prehistory in northern Britain and suggests this was a major power centre. Both the former and new high schools were built on top of and within this cursus enclosure.

An Ancient Mystery

Right: The Broich cursus information panel, located at the entrance to the campus building

As was often the case in the neolithic, big monuments remained a focus of activity for many centuries. At some point, a circle of timber posts was erected within an entrance gap on the western cursus boundary, acting as a more private ceremonial space. 500 years or more after the cursus was constructed, a massive building was constructed around 1km to the east. This circular timber structure, with four massive oak posts at its heart, was probably

Pittentian Timber Circle

Replica of the Pittentian timber monument, and associated information panel

roofed and was perhaps a high-status house. Known as Pittentian, this building was found and excavated in 2011-12 in advance of the construction of a power pylon.

Ceremony and burial

From the second half of the third millennium BC onwards, the focus of this ceremonial landscape turned to mortuary activity. A bronze age barrow, covering at least one grave, was constructed very close to, but outside, the cursus enclosure on its western side. Nearby, also to the west, a cremation cemetery was established, with burials placed into small stone cists and in pots placed in pits, with fine grave goods. This community cemetery was found by archaeologists and excavated before the construction of a new primary school alongside the main campus in 2012.

This significant centre of ceremony and burial seems to have declined in status through time, being eclipsed by a much more extensive monumental complex downriver around Forteviot and Dunning in the middle of the third millennium BC. However, the cursus monument almost certainly remained visible for millennia: two fenced settlement enclosures were constructed partially overlying the southern end of the cursus in the iron age. These enclosures were largely destroyed by landfill site expansion works in the 1990s so sadly we can say little more about them.

It is likely, as archaeologist Oliver O'Grady argued in his PhD thesis, that this flat river terrace with its ancient ditches, banks and mounds, was an attractive place for medieval gatherings of a political, economic and convivial nature. The barrow beside the cursus was repurposed into a court hill for the Earns of Strathearn. This was a place for the settling of disputes by law in a public place. Records for the court exist as far back as 1475, though it is likely that this mound, known as the Crieff Stayt, was used for this purpose for hundreds of years before that.

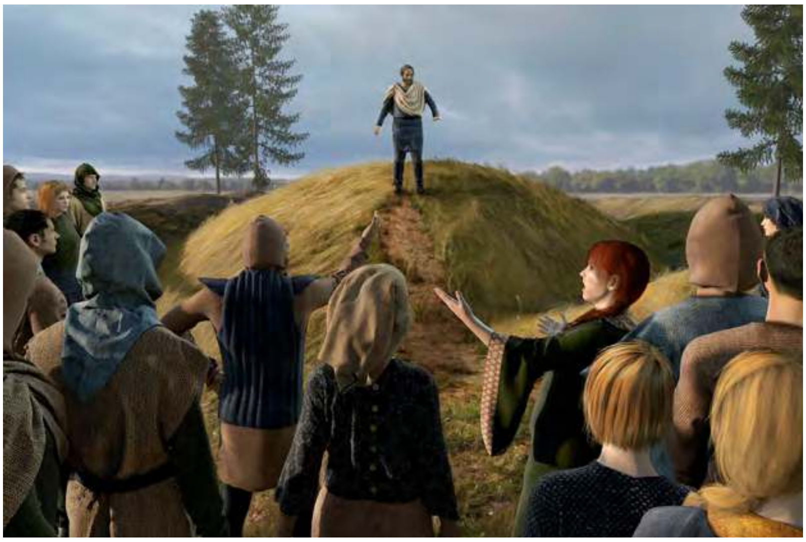
This ancient mound eventually fell out of use, becoming overgrown with trees and weeds, and was destroyed by ploughing in November 1860, as documented in the *Strathearn Herald*. The article noted the discovery of a fine ancient pottery vessel (a pot we now call a food vessel) and cremated remains, having revealed the ancient burial at the heart of this mound.

Traces of the past

This is a rich tale of a place that retained real and then residual significance for 5,500 years, marked by various grand power gestures, and personal acts of mourning. Yet there remains a relatively low level of local knowledge about this story. In no small part this is because if you visit the campus and survey the fields to the south and east of the school building, no physical remains are visible. What happened to the ruins? Modern, industrial scale post-improvement agriculture and urbanisation happened. Earthworks were plough-flattened. Postholes and ditches became buried beneath deep arable soils or tarmac. Construction destroyed some sites.

Yet archaeological traces, even ancient ones, are resilient and the deep time story of this place has been pieced together by archaeologists over the past few decades. The cursus was first recorded as a cropmark from the air in 1982, the long sinuous ditches impacting on crop growth and becoming visible for a few weeks in dry summers. Excavations in advance of various construction projects revealed other parts of the story. Remarkably, during the demolition of the old high school, a stretch of cursus ditch was found surviving beneath the staff car park.

Working with a big team, we want to make sure this buried, invisible archaeological landscape is not



Reconstruction drawing showing the Crieff Stayt in use, created by Alice Watterson for a noticeboard on the trail

Excavations of the western cursus ditch ahead of the community campus construction, with the old high school in the background

forgotten once again. Spatially-situated information is now available for all campus users. The trail is only the first part of this process: replica objects based on excavation finds will be on display in the campus building from this year onwards and available for use in teaching.

Key to this was working with the Strathearn Archaeological and Historical Society, which is based in Crieff and about to celebrate its 50th anniversary. The group runs a programme of guest speakers in the winter and outings in the spring and summer months. It was founded with the encouragement of the late Dr Margaret Stewart, a frequent lecturer and friend to the society. She is a major figure in the archaeology of Perth and Kinross, and was an enthusiastic and active promoter of what we now call public archaeology.

Much as the trail has revitalised disappearing archaeology, so the community campus has also revitalised this society. Membership had declined over the years, however, a move to the recently completed Strathearn Community Campus – with its modern lecture theatres (one now called the Cursus Lecture Theatre), café and large library – has provided a more suitable venue than was previously used by the speakers, members and visitors alike. This move also catalysed renewed activity by, and gave new focus for, the society.

2013 was also the year that the committee was offered the opportunity to create something unique among Scotland's secondary schools. A lecture on a massive infrastructure project – the Beauly to Denny power transmission line – was given by Ally Becket of Northlight Heritage, whose team had discovered the Pittentian timber building. In due course, this led to the construction of a half-size reimagining of the circle on the campus grounds, with funding from developers SSE and design input from teachers and pupils. This timber structure was the first element of what has become known as the Archaeology Trail.

This timber setting was unveiled in 2014 by the earl and countess of Strathearn, an event which kick-started recognition of the integrity, coherence and value of having such a feature at the centre of the town's educational, learning and recreational resources. This royal launch also brought funders on board to support the archaeology trail. Other community events and initiatives also followed, such as archaeology days for Crieff's youngsters during their summer holidays. Archaeology Scotland, Historic Environment Scotland and local archaeology companies supported these events to considerable effect, alongside their support for the developing trail.

The trail consists of four information panels around the campus playground. These focus on the timber circle replica based on Pittentian, the Broich Cursus, the bronze age cemetery uncovered during primary school construction and Crieff Stayt. A fifth noticeboard offering an overview and introduction to the trail was added in December, featuring pupils from all six forms proudly standing within 'their' timber circle.

The noticeboards are placed to encourage engagement with archaeological sites that can no longer be seen. The reader is invited to imagine with the help of images and information: 'you are standing in the middle of one of the largest prehistoric enclosures in Scotland', 'one of the most important archaeological sites in Crieff stood just 100m in front of you...'. Physically situating users of the campus inside and alongside their heritage and encouraging the use of imagination are vital component parts of the trail.

This project helps to delivers Scotland's Archaeology Strategy (2015), with the overall objective of making archaeology accessible and beneficial to everyone in Scotland. We would encourage anyone who is visiting Crieff to come and see for themselves this amazing invisible archaeological landscape and enjoy our playground prehistory.

Key project personnel: Kenny Brophy, University of Glasgow; Steven Timoney, Perth College/UHI; Mel Johnson, CFA Archaeology; Ally Becket, Northlight Heritage; Alice Watterson, University of Dundee; Christine Deeley, Trevor Rae and John Donnelly, Crieff High School and Strathearn Community Campus; Ian Hamilton, Rena and Colin Carr, Strathearn Archaeological & Historical Society.

The elements of the trail are being used in teaching activities for the school, such as this geometry session with archaeologist Ally Becket, getting pupils to mark out the concentric footprint of the Pittentian timber structure with buckets

Isobel Watson: FAIRIES AND WITCHCRAFT IN 16TH-CENTURY PERTHSHIRE

Ciaran Jones presents the tale of Isobel Watson, a middle-aged medical practitioner who was the focus of one of Scotland's first witch trials, when an investigation into superstitious magic spiralled into tales of violent and traumatic visits to fairyland and encounters with the devil

Scotland experienced intense witch hunts during the 16th and 17th centuries. Out of a population of about one million, roughly 4,000 witches were formally accused and perhaps around 2,500 were executed.

Scotland's witch-hunts were severe, with about 2.5 executions per thousand of the population. It had about five times the European average of executions per capita. There are many reasons which help to explain Scotland's intense crackdown on witches. In the early modern period, the country possessed a weak legal system, where the central government, at least for a time, struggled to control and reduce the number of witch trials being conducted locally, often by men who had no formal legal training. Scotland's witch hunts also happened at a time of radical religious reform.

After the Reformation in 1560, Scotland became, at least formally, a Protestant country. This in turn led to nationwide attempts to purge the land of ungodliness in the hope that Scotland would become a truly godly society. From the king at the top, right down to your local, ordinary Scot who lived in the village, there was a collaborative and concentrated effort to root out all those deemed ungodly. And among the fornicators, adulterers and blasphemers, witches were also on the authorities' list.

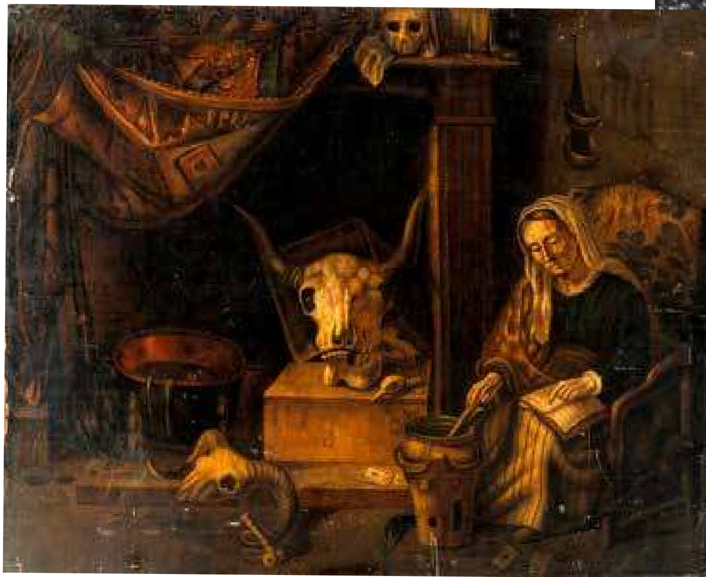
This article, however, is about a witch trial that took place before the witch hunts really got going in Scotland; a witch trial that happened a few months before the infamous North Berwick witch trials and the involvement of James VI. What happens when the local community faces a witch trial but does not have much experience and knowledge in prosecuting and executing witches? Well, between April and June 1590, the communities in Perthshire were faced with that very question: a middle-aged woman, Isobel Watson, was brought before the presbytery of Stirling to answer for owning a number of magical objects. And what started out as an investigation into superstitious magic evolved into a witch trial about fairies, the devil and the dead.

The build-up and the trial

Isobel came to the attention of the presbytery of Stirling – the regional church court responsible for moral policing in the communities of 16th-century Scotland – when James Kinnaird and his wife Janet Henderson in Glendevon, southern Perthshire, were discovered to have some magical objects: nine grains of wheat, a piece of rowan tree and the joint of a man's finger. On 21 April 1590, the presbytery of Stirling summoned James, who told them that the magical objects belonged to Isobel Watson. James brought Isobel with him to the presbytery, although Isobel made the decision to come voluntarily, and travelled over 20 miles from Glendevon to attend the summons in Stirling. The authorities' attention soon turned towards Isobel and she was interrogated over two months.

Firstly, she was interrogated at the end of April before the presbytery of Stirling; and secondly in mid-May, in the tolbooth – a local building, usually a town hall, used to hold prisoners. Isobel was probably confined there between the two interrogations. The interrogators, whose names are not recorded in this instance, would have been looking for any mention of harmful magic or references to the devil. The questions they asked Isobel are not recorded in the local church court records, but we can gain an insight into the things they might have asked Isobel based on her responses (of which more in a moment). As mentioned, this was an early case and the authorities had not yet gained much experience in conducting witch trials. Isobel's confessions reflect this: the amount of folkloric detail that is recorded suggests her interrogators let her talk about what she wanted to say, perhaps because they did not know what to ask her, so they let her answer their questions without shaping her responses too much themselves.

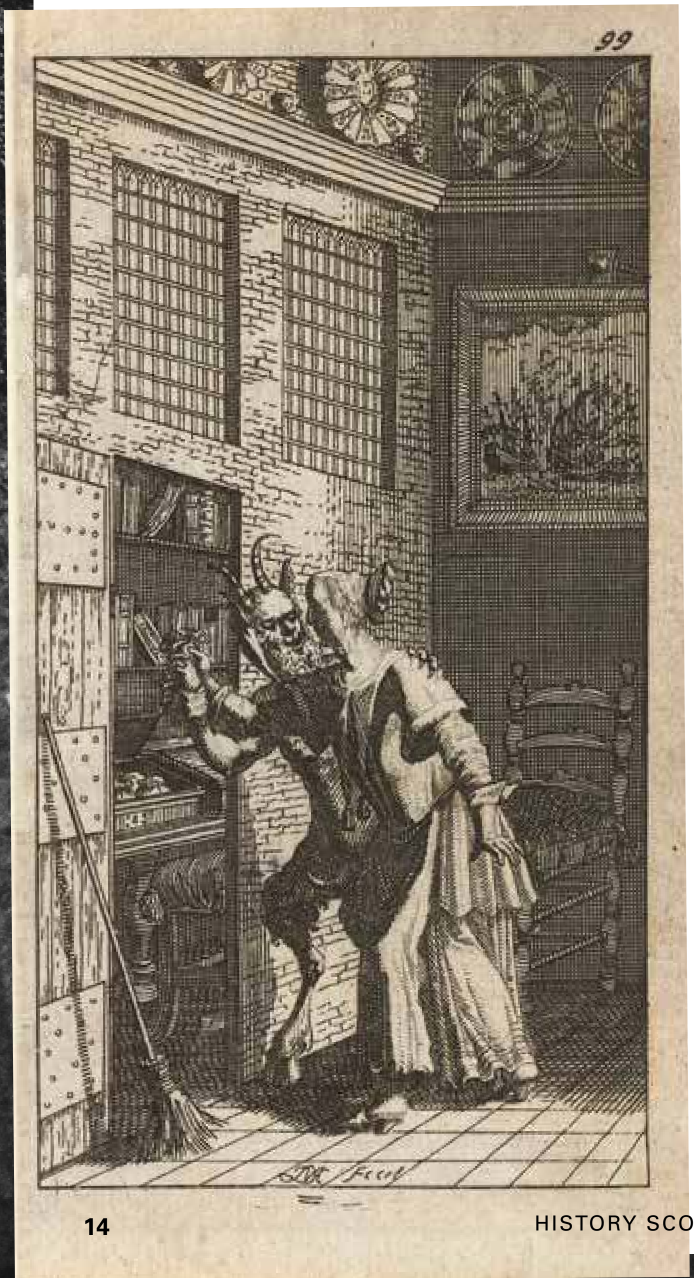
The stereotypical idea of the witch who sold her soul to the devil was not



Isobel was a medical practicioner, the type of person that helped make life bearable for 16th-century folk yet well established in Scotland and when compared with later witch trials from the 17th century, Isobel's responses seem more original, rooted in lived experiences and not dictated to her solely by her interrogators. This is not to suggest, however, that she had total agency in what she said: it is likely that she may have been interrogated coercively and even tortured.

Isobel Watson, magical practitioner

What about Isobel Watson herself? By the time she came to the attention of the authorities, she was aged 60. She seems to have grown up in Muthill and spent her young adulthood in Perth. Her husband had died three years after the reformation, and since then she had begged for a living, mainly in the Glendevon area. She was a magical practitioner and apparently a midwife, healing people and practising divination: the magical art of finding lost and stolen goods. Her profession as a magical practitioner was probably taken seriously by the local communities that she lived in and visited.



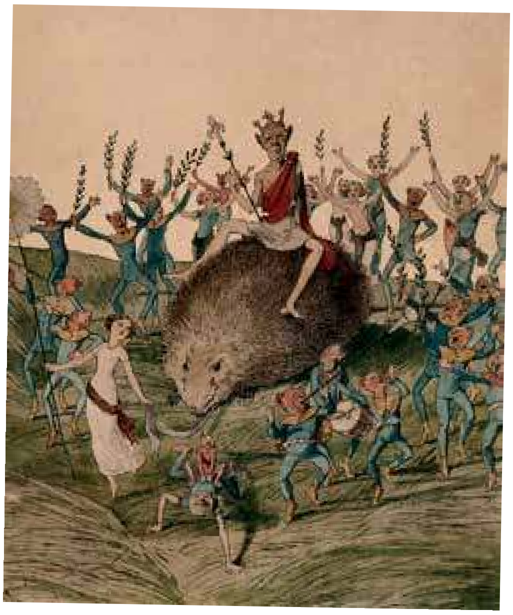
According to Isobel, the devil visited her at Stirling tolbooth and made her feel she was going mad

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the ordinary folk relied on the services of people like Isobel Watson to make everyday life more bearable. They were believed to help with counter-magic, remove bewitchment, and provide healing spells. Such people were also believed to provide love magic and, as mentioned, divination. Contrary to popular belief, while the authorities looked down on and even tried to stamp out superstitious magic, they did not seek out and zealously 'hunt' magical practitioners. In order to find out why Isobel's case was taken so seriously by the authorities, we need to consider what she said to her interrogators about her interactions with the supernatural realm.

The supernatural realm: fairies, fairyland and the dead

What particularly attracted Isobel's interrogators' attention was her account of her visions of fairies and visits to fairyland – visions that she said she had experienced since the age of eighteen. In early modern popular belief, it was believed that magical practitioners could interact with the spirit world and some claimed to have been given their powers by supernatural creatures; some were known to have formed relationships with spirits, known as spirit-guides, who helped or hindered them throughout their life. In Scotland, the most frequently discussed spirit was the fairy: a morally ambiguous nature spirit that lived in an alternate plane of existence, somewhere between heaven and hell, known as fairyland. As spirits, fairies did not have a corporeal body of their own, but like other supernatural creatures, such as the devil, they could take the form of more earthly beings; fairies most frequently took the form of a human or humanoid – a being that looks like a human but is not human.

During her first interrogation in April 1590, Isobel confessed to her interrogators that when, at age eighteen, she was tending to sheep, she fell asleep and was taken by the fairies to fairyland, which she passed through under a rock. She confessed that she was kept there for 24 hours and was offered food. She saw her dead aunt, who advised her not to eat the food the fairies offered her, since was believed that accepting gifts or eating food from the fairies could trap you in fairyland. According to Isobel's first confession, it appears that she was treated harshly during her visit to fairyland, as the fairies marked her on her head, although it is not clear why – possibly for refusing to eat their food.



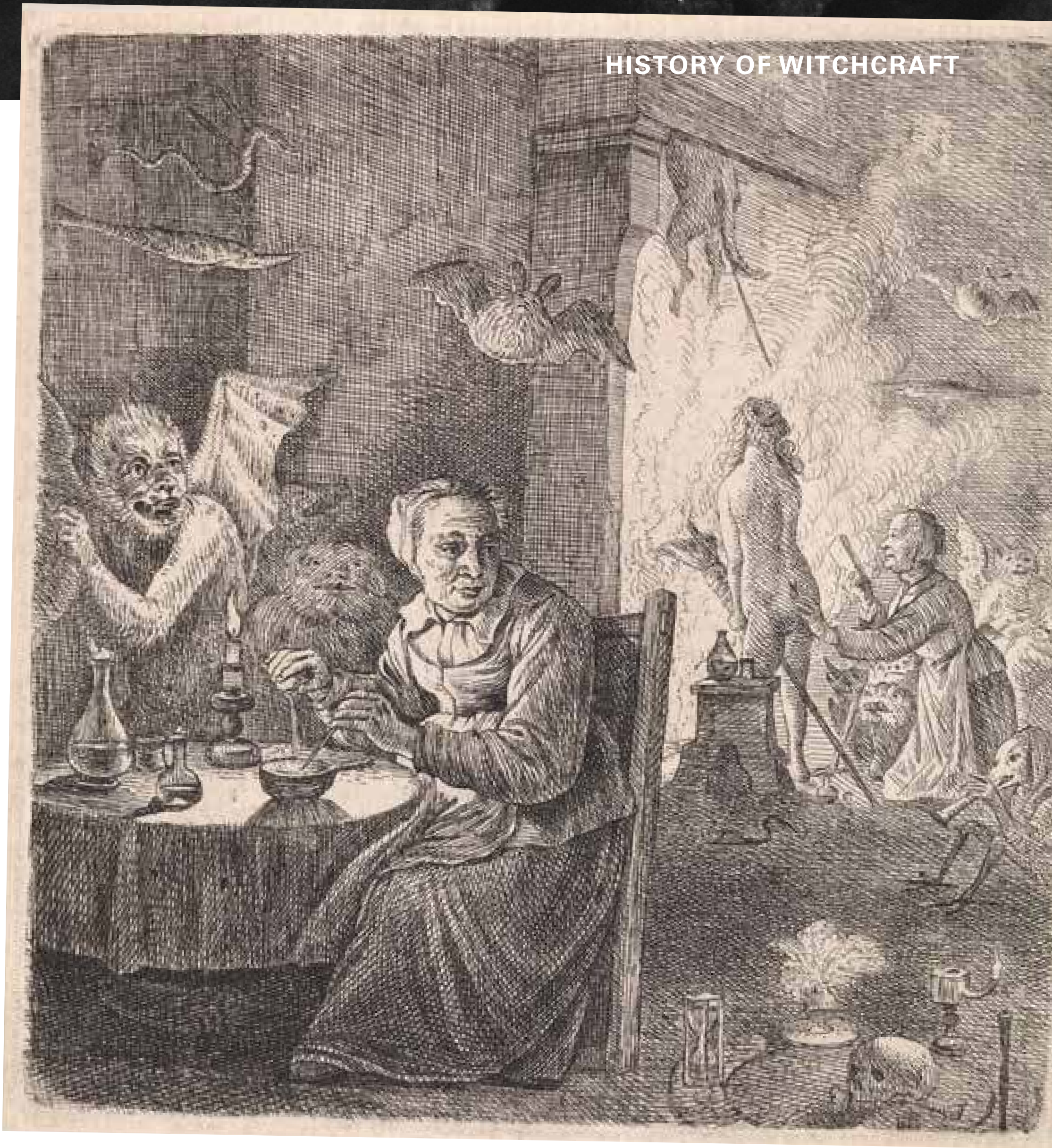
Isobel's confessions of violent encounters in fairyland were what marked her out to the authorities

The idea of the demonic pact, in which the devil was known to mark the accused witch as part of the ritual, was not as well established in Scotland as it would later become; although other supernatural beings, such as fairies, were known to harm humans if they felt they were disrespected. Indeed, it turned out that one of the magical objects, a joint of a man's finger, which had provoked the investigation against Isobel in the first place, had the power to protect her from being beaten by the fairies as she had claimed to have been in the past.

Isobel gave her interrogators a troubling confession: a detailed account of a changeling – a child taken by the fairies. It was believed that fairies could not produce offspring, so would need to take human children to raise in fairyland. She confessed that at one point when her husband fell sick, she gave her two year-old son to the fairies in exchange for the magical power to nurse her husband back to health. According to Isobel, the fairies took her young son and swapped him with an enchanted wooden log that looked like her own son; she even claimed that her husband, after he had recovered, took it and cast it in the fire, which almost burnt down their house.

It is not clear from Isobel's confessions what actually happened to her son. It is possible that he died while Isobel was still a young mother and this investigation against her at a time much later in her life provided her with an opportunity to express her guilt or grief about what had happened. But equally, since we know that she was, supposedly, a well-respected magical practitioner who could communicate with the spirit world, she might have actually believed that her young son was taken by the fairies – we need to remember that we are dealing with a period different from our own, where belief in the supernatural was strong among everyday, close-knit communities.

Not all of Isobel's alleged interactions with the fairies were violent or traumatic. As mentioned, fairies were considered to be morally ambiguous – they could either be good or bad depending on how they were treated by humans. Isobel also told her interrogators that she danced with the fairies at the loch of Gleneagles and visited fairyland at each change of the moon. Further, she said that she also met and conversed with various people, both alive and dead, in fairyland, while eating and drinking. The educated protestant elites did not believe in ghosts or spirits of dead people lingering in alternate dimensions that did not fit within the Christian framework of heaven and hell. But ordinary, local Scots did believe in ghosts, as well as fairies, and in popular belief the souls of the dead sometimes made their way to fairyland. Above all, Isobel told her interrogators that they should treat the fairies with respect. From reading Isobel's confessions, she seems to have developed a sophisticated and volatile relationship with the fairies over the course of her life.



End of the trial

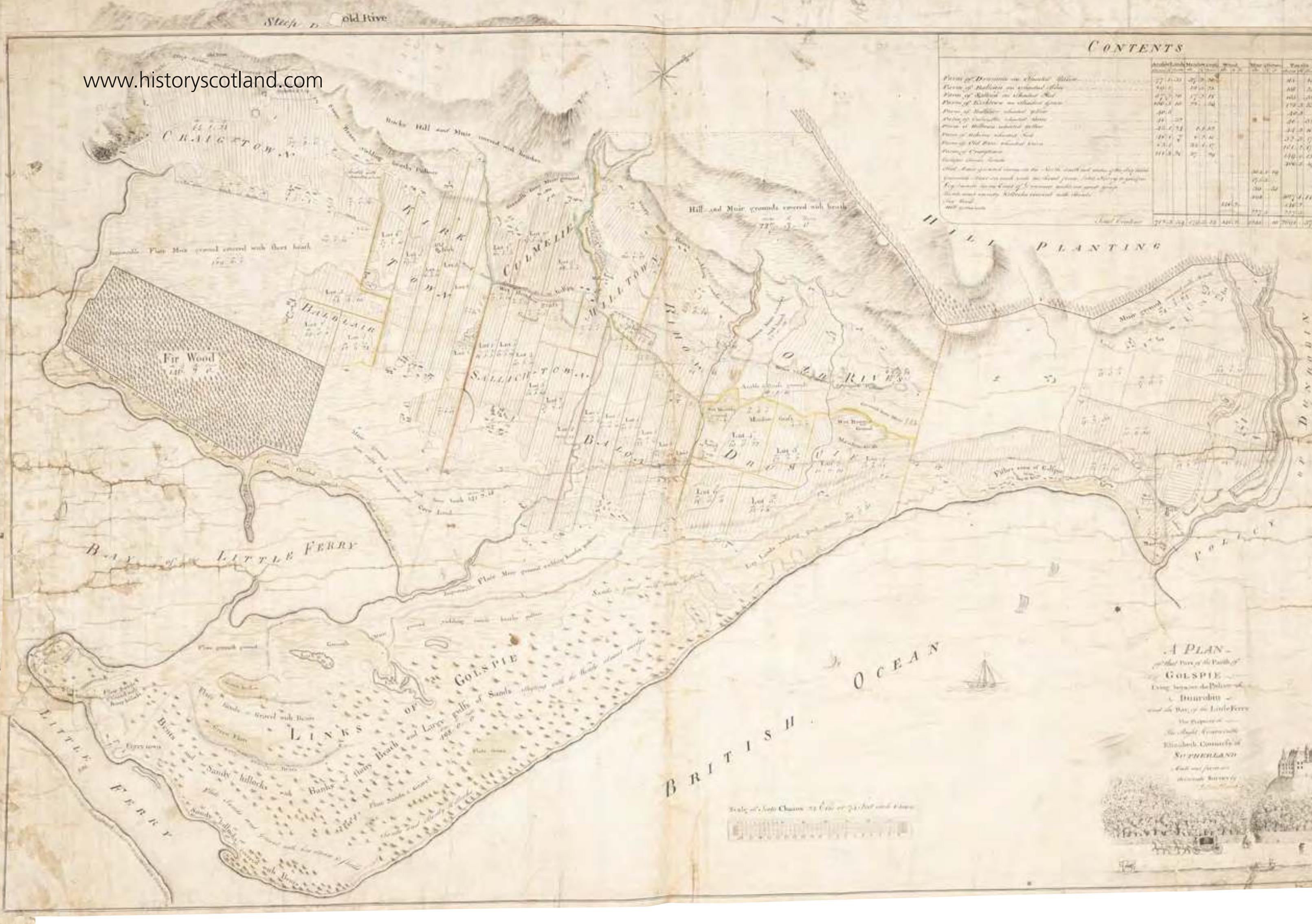
Isobel probably did not realise that her confessions about meeting the fairies were getting her into serious trouble with the authorities. Her situation became more dire when she was interrogated again in May, a couple of weeks after her initial questioning before the presbytery of Stirling, during which time she was imprisoned in the local tolbooth. It is clear that this time in custody had profound psychological and physical effects. Her subsequent confessions were confusing and less coherent: she described how, at an earlier point in her life, the king of the fairies had taken her hair away; and most serious of all, she claimed that the devil came to visit her in the tolbooth in the form of an angel and asked her to serve him, which she declined. She then confessed that he hit her and she felt as if she was going mad – she might have included her own treatment in the tolbooth in her confession about being beaten by the devil.

Isobel's confessions of encounters with the supernatural preceded Scotland's large-scale and well-known witch trials

In the end, though, the authorities got what they wanted: a confession about meeting the devil. Isobel was interrogated again in late May and the authorities met in June to decide her fate and they recommended that she be prosecuted, most likely under the witchcraft act, and sought for her case to be moved up the legal hierarchy, citing her as a consulter of the devil and the dead. No evidence survives that proves Isobel's fate, but considering her two lengthy and rather serious confessions about interacting with the supernatural, it is likely that she was executed.

Ciaran Jones is a PhD student in Scottish History at the University of Edinburgh. His doctoral research looks at the relationship between preaching, conversion experiences and witchcraft confessions across the 16th, 17th and early 18th centuries.

Listen to more witchcraft history on BBC Scotland's Witch Hunt podcast: https://scot.sh/witch



A Plan of that Part of the Parish of Golspie Lying betwixt the Policy of Dunrobin and the Bay of the Little Ferry The Property of the Right Honourable Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland. Made out from an accurate Survey by John Home *c.*1772

PATRICK SELLAR'S CULMAILY: A MODEL OF IMPROVEMENT

Long notorious as an agent of clearance on the Sutherland estates, Patrick Sellar was also a landholder himself, and attempted to implement 'improving' agricultural practices on the estate of Culmaily, near Dornoch. **Duncan Simpson** considers his record

Even those historians who have 'repeatedly put Patrick Sellar on trial', to borrow a phrase from Ian Grimble, have conceded one aspect of his legacy, that he was 'a great farmer.' An important element of this reputation was his improvement of the farm at Culmaily which was his first venture into farming, initially in partnership with Estate Commissioner William Young. Leading historian of the clearances Eric Richards described 'the stagnant lochs, the birch woods, the black peats which used to cover the land… transformed into the fine fields of Culmaily'. James Hunter described Sellar as a 'consummate agriculturalist' in his latest book on Sutherland, and Culmaily as 'emblematic of what improvement could accomplish.' An act of alchemy has been accepted by historians, even those who have characterised the wider transformation of the Sutherland estate as a failure.

Objects of wonder and delight

Shortly before Sellar's death in 1851, estate commissioner James Loch wrote these lines to him:

> *Although these matters are objects of wonder and delight to us who saw it all otherwise, it is impossible to convey to strangers those feelings even if able to tell what was the condition of things before 1812. Who is the oldest man about the place who could tell me about Culmaily?*

The oldest man about the place who remembered the preceding state of affairs might well have had different feelings about the changes. Loch's question is provoking. While he included himself amongst those 'who saw it all otherwise', his knowledge of the workings of the estate could only have been that of a superficial observer prior to his active management role in the north commencing in 1816. His question implies a lack of knowledge, a need to find witnesses. Furthermore, it implies that the estate's record of the whereabouts and fortunes of the 352 people removed from Culmaily in 1812 was inadequate, or non-existent. That makes hollow Loch's later claim that the 'utmost caution and deliberation' had been employed in order to 'raise the importance and increase the happiness' of those very people.

'Zeal for the Improvement of the Country'

Early exchanges between then estate commissioner Young and the countess of Sutherland, and her husband, the marquess of Stafford conjured a lofty 'grand design' of coastal development of industry in parallel with the development of sheep-walks in the interior. Culmaily was intended to be an industrial hub which demonstrated the possibilities for re-employing the people displaced from the interior. The land there was identified as having the richest potential on the estate. What farming operations were planned were of the nature of a 'show farm', flax milling being the intended centrepiece. Young was to oversee these operations, with Sellar his assistant. The two men were plainly at odds from quite an early stage in operations, though they still managed to combine to ruthless effect initially, swiftly disposing of the previous factor Cosmo Falconer. Ironically, given subsequent events, it was the haste and lack of planning associated with the first clearances which gave them their opportunity. The initial clearance of 300 people from Lairg in order to make way for Atkinson and Marshall's sheep run saw them resettled hastily in 'restricted situations' in Upper Strathnaver, an area Sellar would later clear for the same purpose. Sellar lamented the misery he had witnessed in Upper Strathnaver to the Marchioness:

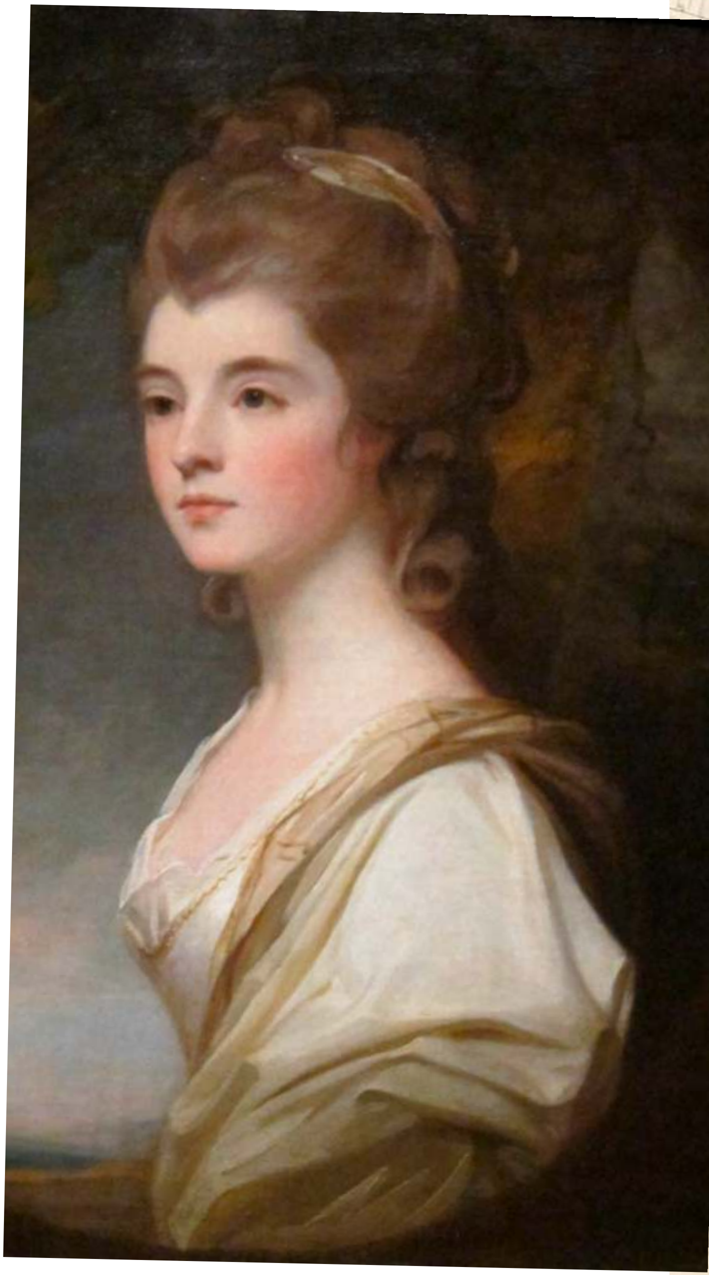
> *The inhabitants who formerly occupied the Extensive Sheep walks in the interior are Crammed, we understand, into hamlets there, without any new track being pointed out for their industry and wanting, we fear, the full Supply they formerly Enjoyed on their boundless pastures. Depression, debility, sloth, filth etc. are the consequence.*

Crocodile tears those, shed with the downfall of Cosmo Falconer in mind, and perhaps the dawning of an awareness of the value of those 'boundless pastures.' Falconer issued a stark warning about the self-serving nature of Patrick Sellar in the letter acknowledging his dismissal, contrasting his naked greed with Young's 'disinterested zeal for the Improvement of the Country.' That zeal would result in Young's dismissal in turn as the costs of those improvements spiralled out of control. Some of the poorly-accounted extravagances which saw Young lose his position improved Sellar's lot at Culmaily immensely. Substantial engineering accompanied the road-building project supervised by Thomas Telford in the district. The key factor in the success of the drainage schemes Sellar implemented were the construction of an embankment at Loch Lundy, and the massive works establishing 'The Mound', which greatly improved Morvich. The provisions of the government scheme which built the new road from the Mound covered the cost of enclosure and drainage along its length. This gifted Sellar's later drainage schemes a uniquely strong underpinning.

The fine house at Morvich which became Sellar's family home was built for the marquis of Stafford as an alternative to Dunrobin castle. Groundworks also accompanied that construction, and unspecified improvements were made to the fields surrounding Morvich. The estate funded the new farmhouse at Culmaily, and offices on both farms. Despite the rapid progress of those buildings, the proposed cottages for the remnant of the population who were to be retained were not immediately constructed, due to 'a lack of skilled labour in the county'. As the farm was on the approach to Dunrobin, the cottages had to be built to a high standard of facade. This focus on appearances was a prime motivation for the re-organisation of Culmaily, revealed in letters from the countess which tell of her satisfaction at seeing the black houses ploughed under. It seems likely that the cottages were not completed until 1815, when Loch referred to them as though they were a recent addition. That suggests that the 30 people eventually settled at Culmaily were not selected from the original population who had resided there. Indeed, Sellar stated that his own preference was to have workers brought from outside, and his own 1820 account referred to the eighteen families he employed as 'south coasters' presumably from Moray. His son's defence of Sellar to the Napier commission maintained that his father took some highland workers on, but only as the 'second generation' of his workforce, in comparatively junior positions. This again calls into question the stated principle aim of improving the lot of the people.

'The condition of things before 1812'

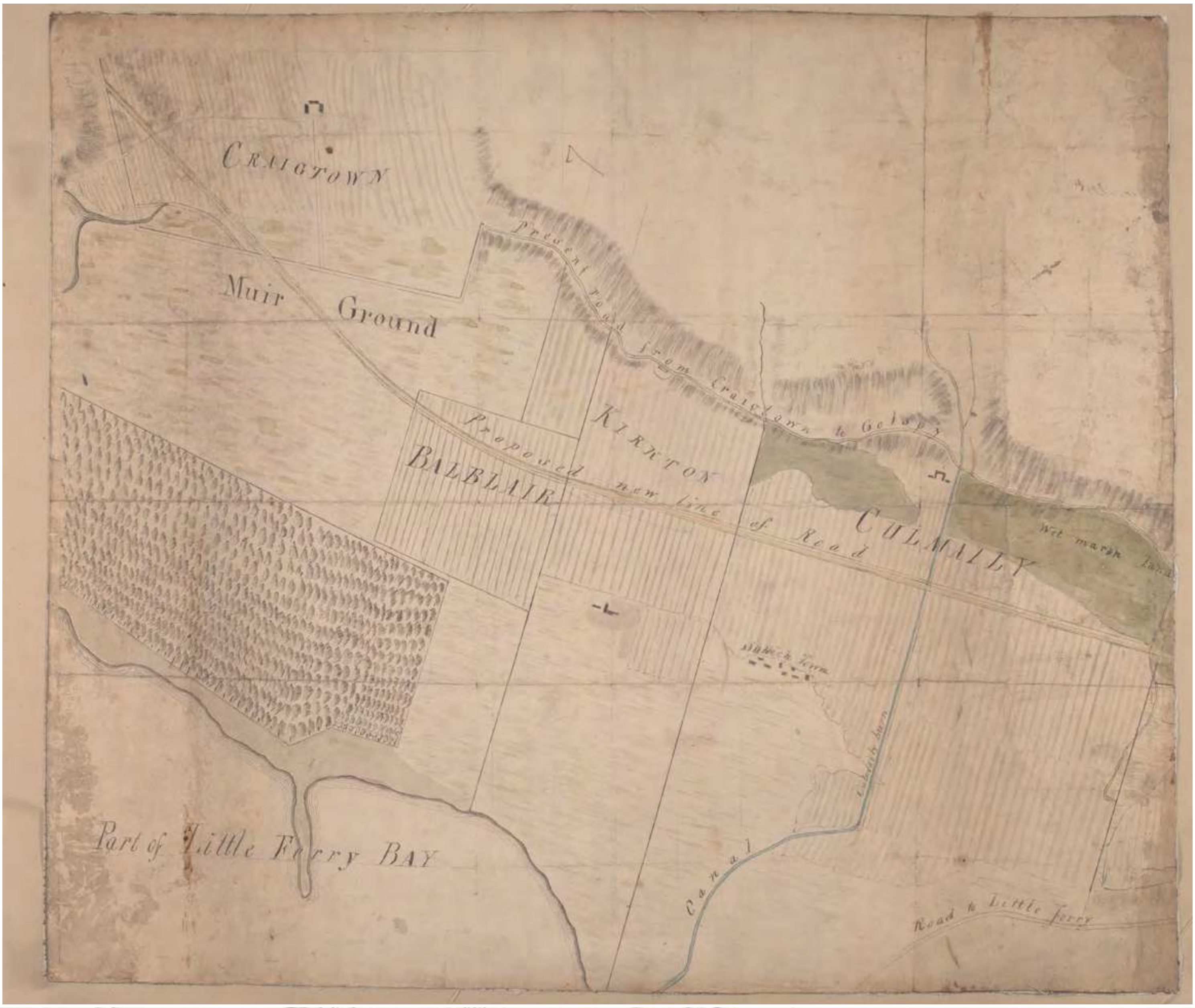
There are two estate maps which portray the state of the land at Culmaily prior to Sellar and Young's occupation. The first, made by John Kirk for the tutors to the young countess in 1771, served primarily as a sketch of the land which the new



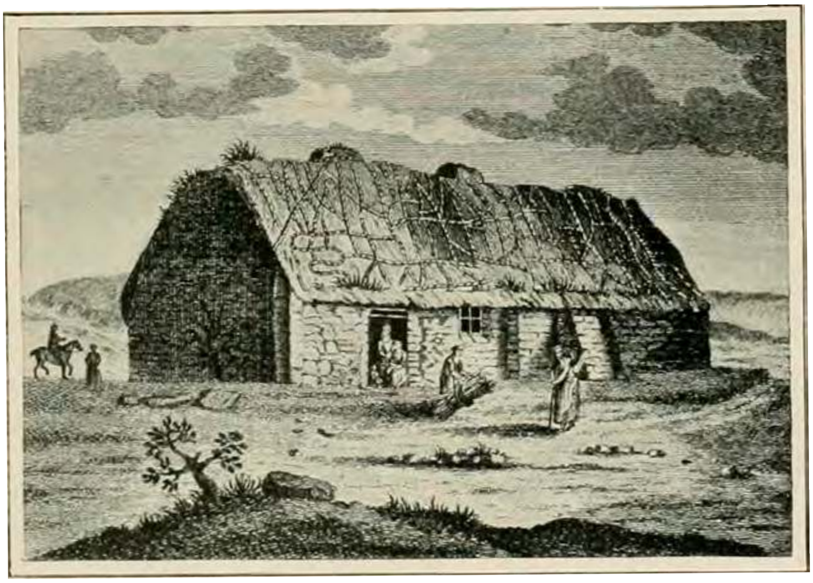
Elizabeth Sutherland Leveson-Gower (1765-1839), countess of Sutherland during Patrick Sellar's time at Culmaily road replacing the existing high road above the farm traversed. While it depicts 'wet marsh land' north of the road, the majority of the farm was depicted as ploughed and enclosed arable. The second was made by John Home, prior to his survey of Assynt in 1774. On it, the core 40 acres of Culmaily were all indicated as arable, with around 20 per cent of Sallachy to the south assessed to be 'wet meadow grass' or 'natural woodland.' The remaining 80 per cent of Sallachy's lands are indicated as arable. The moor making up the bulk of what would become Sellar's 'fine fields' south of the road is marked 'may easily be improved into Corn Land'. John Henderson's survey of 1807 also observed that 'by draining the low ground between Culmailie and Drumay, a considerable tract might be made arable'.

The previous tenant of Culmaily was Colonel Alexander Sutherland, an elderly veteran who Francis Suther later described as 'feebleminded', mocking the 'childish grief' he displayed when meeting with people about to be evicted in Strath Brora. The colonel expressed the vain hope that he would be left alone amidst the 'storm of improvements', but when his sub-tenants were gone, he became the focus of attention. Sellar thwarted attempts by others within the estate structure to leave him in place, insisting that his 40 acres was the key to the surrounding 260. The colonel was also tenant of Strathlundie, which does not appear to have interested Sellar initially. He identified the neighbouring farmland of Morvich as the estate's next target; 'for the Ground is rich and fertile beyond expression, and it has carried oats and bere in succession beyond memory of man'. During later negotiations when tenant of that same land, he insisted that a large part of that acreage was 'unimproveable rocky pasture'.

Strathlundie was eventually cleared in 1819 and was 'mentioned in dispatches' by Sellar in 1816, when he stated that the inhabitants all 'lived by smuggling whisky', and advocated clearing them all to the shores. Our modern perception of the current geography of Sutherland inclines us to see Culmaily and Strathlundie as distinct entities, like the neatly-inked hirsels on Sellar's maps. To the original inhabitants, though, they were integral components of one agricultural system. Archaeological surveys of Strathlundie reveal a long history of settlement, with hut circles dated to around 3000BC as well as cairns,



Craigtown, Balblair, Kirkton and Culmaily, *c.*1772



The labour of the highlands often depended upon the use of the spade and the cashcrom to work unimproved ground to good effect

turf dykes and low walls remaining from the pre-clearance township. This would have been continuous occupation in a sense, but the hill ground surrounding Loch Lundie was within a system of grazing strictly controlled by custom and experience, enforced by elected representatives from amongst the people. Robert Dodgshon found the traditional use of the hill grazing to be limited to two or three months in the year. Stock numbers he found closely correlated to the amount of inbye arable, and he concluded that this relationship was driven by the understanding of the need to fertilise the arable ground.

At Culmaily, the people grew the bulk of their crops on the higher ground above the present farm. There are yet faint signs of earlier settlement and cultivation visible on an area of hill described as 'greenish stony muir ground' on Home's map. There were other rigs around the houses on the lower ground which were 'levelled, making manure' along with the black houses themselves. The earlier system of cultivation has sometimes been dismissed as inefficient, but in many places in the highlands it operated on the stonier ground, as at Culmaily. The use of the caschrom and the spade allowed food to be grown in 'unimprovable' areas. While many 18th-century commentators ridiculed the huge amount of labour required, some saw that the 'labour of the Highlands was its capital', and remarked on the productivity of this system. Dodgshon observed that within a mainly pastoral system on marginal ground, this focus on intensive cultivation within a less productive area was highly appropriate.

The unimproved ground often later characterised as 'wasteland' provided building materials and fuel, in the shape of peat, turf, timber and forage. The 'wet meadow' recorded in Sallachy was understood to be an important resource. Bracken and rushes were used as winter bedding for cattle, which bulked up the manure and made it easier to handle. There are reports of extensive growth in the 'haugh meadows' yielding up to 150 stone of hay per acre, with the observations that 'the only manure this ground receives is the overflowing of the rivers', and that it was the equal of arable in terms of its productivity.

The township named in estate documents as 'Sallachy', or 'Sallach-town', understood to mean 'dirty town', is rendered on Home's map as 'Sallich', which suggests a different etymology. While 'Salach' can indeed be translated as 'dirty', that is not the meaning here. A surviving township with the same name on Loch Long was actually named for the willow tree; *Seilach* in Gaelic. There are several other instances of that township name across the highlands, with a wide diversity of current spellings. The 16th-century church records of the abbey of Fearn record 'Salki' as pasture land belonging to the church. Willow was an important resource, used to construct creels and cribs, and for securing thatched roofs of heather or rushes. Culmaily was once the name of the whole district, and can be found in the 13th-century Bagimond's Roll as Culmalyn. The meaning of placenames is difficult to read with certainty, but they carry historical value, and this was understood by landowners seeking control over the story of the land. In the mid-19th century Ordnance Survey name books for Sutherland, there are multiple instances of names being redacted 'at the request of the landowner.'

'Fleeting and uncertain benefits'

Sellar's reputation as an agriculturist depends partly on a perception that he was a principle innovator of sheep farming in Sutherland, but that is not the case. Sheep had long been an important part of the previous agricultural systems in Sutherland. From sheep came the wool for clothing and bedding, milk, cheese and butter. Surveys of the region in the last quarter of the 18th century show as many sheep as cattle. Goats were also viewed as vital on account of their extreme hardiness and ability to defend themselves. Henderson noted that 'every farmer had between 20 to 80' and that there was an export trade in skins and cheese. The young aristocrat Alexandre de La Rochefoucauld declared the goat's cheese 'most delicious'. None of the sheep were allowed to graze far out on the hill, but were kept close to the townships. This behaviour was attributed by the improvers to the 'naïve belief' that 'their hills and climate were solely calculated for rearing black cattle', failing to realise the potential for greater numbers of sheep. It may actually have reflected an awareness of the fragility of the hill when exposed to such selective grazers, borne out by later events.

Pioneers of large-scale sheep

Falconer issued a stark warning about the self-serving nature of Patrick Sellar in the letter acknowledging his dismissal, contrasting his naked greed with Young's 'disinterested zeal for the Improvement of the Country' farming in Sutherland included Lord Reay in north Sutherland, who had a flock of 2,500 Blackface by 1767. Another early adopter was the estate commissioner, Captain James Sutherland, who took up a fifteen-year lease on Killin, Strath Brora. By 1771 he had 700 ewes, all from native stock but crossed with Cheviots and Blackface. By 1786 he had relinquished his position as commissioner and the farm reverted to the estate. It is unclear whether the reasons for this retreat were agricultural or due to the countess coming of age, as it was rumoured that he was a natural son of the old duke. The incoming factor, Hugh Rose, drew up a plan to strengthen the local sheep stock with careful crossing. He advised strongly against large-scale clearance for sheep and industry in place of mass agriculture, contrasting the 'lasting and permanent good' of gradually improved cultivation with the 'fleeting and uncertain benefits' of industrial bounties. Rose recommended that such an extensive and varied estate should not be managed by one factor alone, and that factors should be restrained from trading in stock on their own account. Rose's plan was bundled together with a series of reports to the newly-established board of agriculture as part of John Sinclair's nationwide county surveys. This period saw a wealth of improving advice, stemming from the formation of societies such as the Highland Society of Edinburgh. The main author of the Sutherland survey was Captain John Henderson, a Caithness tacksman. His initial survey was conducted in 1807. It reported the people of the interior living upon 'mutton, butter, cheese, milk and cream, with oat or barley-meal cakes during the summer months. They live well, and indolent, of course are robust and healthy'. During the winter, he recorded their diet depended on the state of their finances, beef and mutton for the better situated, potatoes, milk and oats sustaining the poorer.

Patrick Sellar pictured in *The Leviathan of Wealth*, published in London by Routledge and Kegan Paul in 1973

'A low extreme'

The closing decades of the 18th century and the start of the 19th brought challenging conditions for agriculture in the highlands. The harsh winter conditions experienced are now attributed to the eruption of Icelandic volcanos which spread ash clouds across the north, greatly curtailing the growing season. The resulting shortage of fodder led to a collapse in the numbers of cattle fit for market. In the absence of any established systems of relief, those in Sutherland quickly spent what money they had on grain, and when the estate bought in seed they had no choice but to buy it at an exceptionally high price, placing them in arrears as well as forcing them to sell many of their cattle. The estate, by contrast emerged with a fifteen per cent profit from these grain sales.

It was an inauspicious time for agricultural experiment. Dodgshon's assessment is that 'the first tentative improvements exacerbated the vulnerability to famine in the highlands by disturbing the balance of the winter grazings'. Certainly, for those cleared in the first wave of sheep runs these hard winters came at the worst possible time, while they were still trying to establish new farms, often in impossibly short timeframes. Change reduced resilience in other ways. The sudden introduction of Cheviot sheep in large numbers by Atkinson and Marshall at Lairg resulted in an outbreak of scab and rot so severe that it killed the majority of the native sheep and goats over the course of 1807 'as if to make way for a new order of things'. Combined with these losses, the winter in that year was an exceptionally severe one, with early and 'uncommon severe frosts', which 'blasted the woods', destroyed the harvest, and 'reduced the greater part of the tenants to a low extreme'. The 'baseline' from which Young and Sellar began their initial assessment of Sutherland was thus desperately low.

James Loch's 1820 account presented the results of the spring of 1807 as though it had been typical and the outcome of poor husbandry on the part of the small tenants. Within that account, Loch waxed lyrical on Culmaily and Morvich. He evoked the 'barren wastes', 'covered with black huts' being rendered into 'one uniform scene of the most beautiful husbandry, divided into fields of rectangular shape and bearing the best crops of every species of grain'. Sellar was described in heroic terms 'tearing acres of arable out of the mountain'. Some of the works attributed to him by Loch in the account were actually ordered by Telford. Loch acknowledges that the productivity generated by the 'agricultural miracle' was short-lived, and the raising of 'more grain than the land was calculated to bear' was soon abandoned, with the larger proportion of the land then laid down as permanent pasture.

His sheep farming operations have been documented in detail by Sellar himself. His own account revealed that his haste and over-confidence would have broken him without the advantages of the Sutherland's financial underwriting, and the luxury of the pasture lands of Culmaily and Morvich. His most striking error was his failure to appreciate that sheep could not be hefted onto land where the outgoing tenants had the right to harvest their crops. His prematurely-purchased ewes died in overcrowded parks, driving Sellar to the reckless acts which would see him stand trial. He admitted that his system of management was not relevant to situations less advantaged. On several occasions he exceeded the carrying capacity of the straths, leading to outbreaks of disease, high mortality

Our modern perception of the current geography of Sutherland inclines us to see Culmaily and Strathlundie as distinct entities, like the neatly-inked hirsels on Sellar's maps. To the original inhabitants, though, they were integral components of one agricultural system rates and accelerated deterioration of fertility. His salvation from these disasters was his possession of so much good alluvial ground. When profits decreased in later years, he halved the number of shepherds while maintaining the stocking density, knowingly sacrificing the long-term viability of the grazing for short-term gain, as the sheep then grazed portions of the hills bare. He was also able to diversify into cattle, acquiring the calves which the small tenants could not raise on their inadequate lots, and finishing them with little risk and great profit.

'Regular and permanent deterioration'

Sellar's sheep farms were a short-term industrial operation, heralding the end of agricultural improvement in much of Sutherland not its beginning – just as far-sighted men like Rose had predicted. He used the best arable ground in the county to grow fodder for sheep instead of people. His use of the inland straths was in the long term highly destructive of their potential. The estate resumed much of the land which Sellar had farmed as his 19-year leases came to an end in 1837. By then he had made enough to buy freshly-cleared land in Morvern, leaving one of his sons to manage Culmaily and Morvich. The family would hold land in Sutherland for another twenty years, but with ever diminishing holdings. While he made a rich profit from his farming, his reputation as an agriculturist owes much to the 'public relations' exercise so skilfully handled by James Loch in defence of the estates policies. Behind closed doors, Loch understood the true nature of Sellar's operations all too well. In the context of tenancy negotiations with Sellar in 1837, he wrote to Lady Sutherland of 'the regular and permanent deterioration of such lands as were formerly cultivated by the people, a deterioration common to the whole of the Highland sheep farms'.

Morvich, where Sellar made his home

Duncan Simpson recently graduated from the MLitt History of the Highlands & Islands at the University of the Highlands & Islands. He is interested in land management in the highlands pre- and post-clearance, and the decline of the estates in the 20th century.

FURTHER READING

An Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquess of Stafford, in the Counties of Stafford and Salop, and on the Estate of Sutherland, With Remarks (London, 1820), J. Loch

Farm Reports, County of Sutherland Strathnaver, Morvich and Culamily Farms (London, 1831), P. Sellar

General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sutherland, with Observations on the Means of its Improvement (Inverness, 1806), J. Henderson

'Sheep Farming in Sutherland in the Eighteenth Century', *Agricultural History Review*, 50:2 (2002), M. Bangor-Jones, 181-202

Two Hundred Years of Farming in Sutherland (Lochs, 2014), R. Clarke

£300,000 FUNDING ANNOUNCED *for 'innovative' museum projects*

As a new decade begins, nine projects around the country have been awarded a share of 300k of funding from Museums Galleries Scotland (MGS), the national development body for Scotland's museums

Nine projects will be supported through the development fund

Funding from MGS's Museum Development Fund will support these nine projects as they look to the future through redevelopment, international partnership projects and the preservation of important collections.

The projects range from celebrating local and family history through the refurbishment of a resource centre in Nairn Museum, to creating 'meaningful international relationships' through connecting David Livingstone Birthplace (DLB) with organisations in Malawi, Botswana and Zambia. Future innovation will be at the forefront of a new interactive and immersive gallery space exploring robotics in surgery at Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. The projects supported through the MGS Museum Development Fund are: David Livingstone Birthplace, Grampian Transport Museum, Nairn Museum, Scottish Contemporary Art Network with match-funding from Art Fund and Creative Scotland, University of St Andrews, Highland Museum of Childhood, Culture Perth and Kinross, Dundee Museum of Transport, and The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

Lucy Casot, CEO of Museums Galleries Scotland, said: 'We are delighted to support museums and galleries in Scotland to continue their ambitious approach to making the fascinating collections in their care accessible to everyone. The nine funded projects are looking to the future to create museums that are relevant and responsive to their community and visitors. Many of the museums are using the grant to strengthen their position in these changing times through developing their financial sustainability, increasing digital use in exhibitions, and creating peer to peer learning opportunities'.

International connections

The DLB received £39,000 for a project which will develop working partnerships and networks between museums and organisations that hold collections relating to Livingstone in the African countries he explored.

Grant MacKenzie, project manager David Livingstone Birthplace, explained more about how the funding will be used: 'David Livingstone was one of the foremost international travellers through his explorations in Sub-Saharan Africa and the trust is uniquely placed to foster contemporary international links with the countries that he visited. We are delighted that the Museums Galleries Scotland grant will enable us to work with museums in Malawi, Zambia, and Botswana developing knowledge of our collections, sharing best practice and then sharing this with Scotland's heritage sector'.

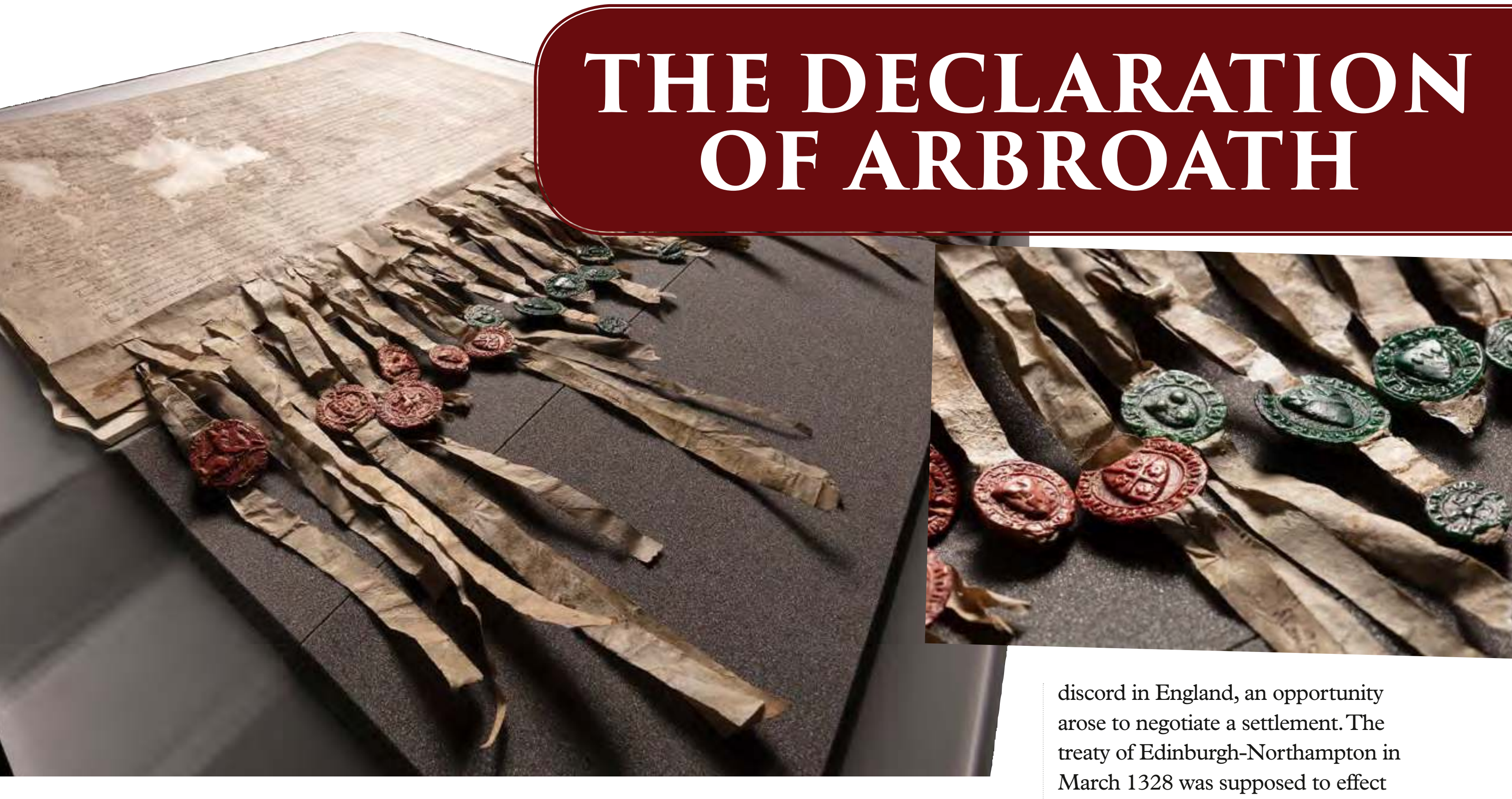
In Zambia the DLB will work with the National Museums Board and the Livingstone Museum on combined research activities to develop knowledge of Livingstone and artefacts there and at his birthplace in Blantyre. The project will improve interpretation at both museums as well as digitally, sharing best practice on collections management and supporting each organisation's financial sustainability.

In Malawi, the DLB will be working on developing its Legacy Exhibition, which is part of the new exhibition at the David Livingstone Birthplace, as a touring programme. Links with Malawian museums have also been instigated. The DLB will also be working with the British high commission in Botswana to source host locations for a legacy exhibition in the country. It is hoped this will widely broaden the reach of the museum and attract a much wider audience to learn about Livingstone's life and legacy.

www.museumsgalleriesscotland.org.uk

DLB staff pictured in the temporary storage facility for the David Livingstone Centre

THE DECLARATION OF ARBROATH



2020 is the 700th anniversary of what is widely considered to be Scotland's most iconic document: the Declaration of Arbroath, which will be displayed in Edinburgh this spring

Its evocative sentiments of medieval sovereign independence have given the Declaration of Arbroath a special distinction, not only in Scotland but around the world.

This spring, National Records of Scotland (NRS) – the body responsible for caring for the surviving copy of the Declaration – will celebrate this anniversary in partnership with National Museums Scotland.

The Declaration will be displayed in the museum's free medieval Scotland gallery, providing the public with a rare opportunity to see the original document. It is now incredibly fragile and its exposure to light has to be limited to ensure its preservation for future generations. This will be its only exhibition in 2020.

The Declaration is a letter from the barons and the community of the realm of Scotland to Pope John XXII, dated 6 April 1320. It sets out Scotland's status as an independent kingdom, supporting Robert the Bruce's title as King of Scots and asking the Pontiff to persuade the English king (Edward II) to end hostilities against the Scots.

Despite the Scottish victory over Edward at the battle of Bannockburn in June 1314, and continued Scottish raids on the north of England, Edward would not drop the long-standing English claim to overlordship of Scotland. Neither Edward nor the pope recognised Robert I as king of Scots.

The Declaration of Arbroath, Crown copyright, National Records of Scotland, SP13/7

A papal attempt to secure peace failed when King Robert recaptured the border town of Berwick in 1318. The pope summoned the king and four Scottish bishops to attend the papal court by letters issued in November 1319, a summons which was ignored and led to their excommunication. The Declaration was their diplomatic counter-offensive.

There were actually three letters sent from Scotland to the pope in early 1320: appeals from Robert I, the bishop of St Andrews and the barons and community of the realm. Unfortunately, none of those three letters have survived in the papal archives, but the Scottish file copy of the barons' letter did – the document now known as the Declaration of Arbroath.

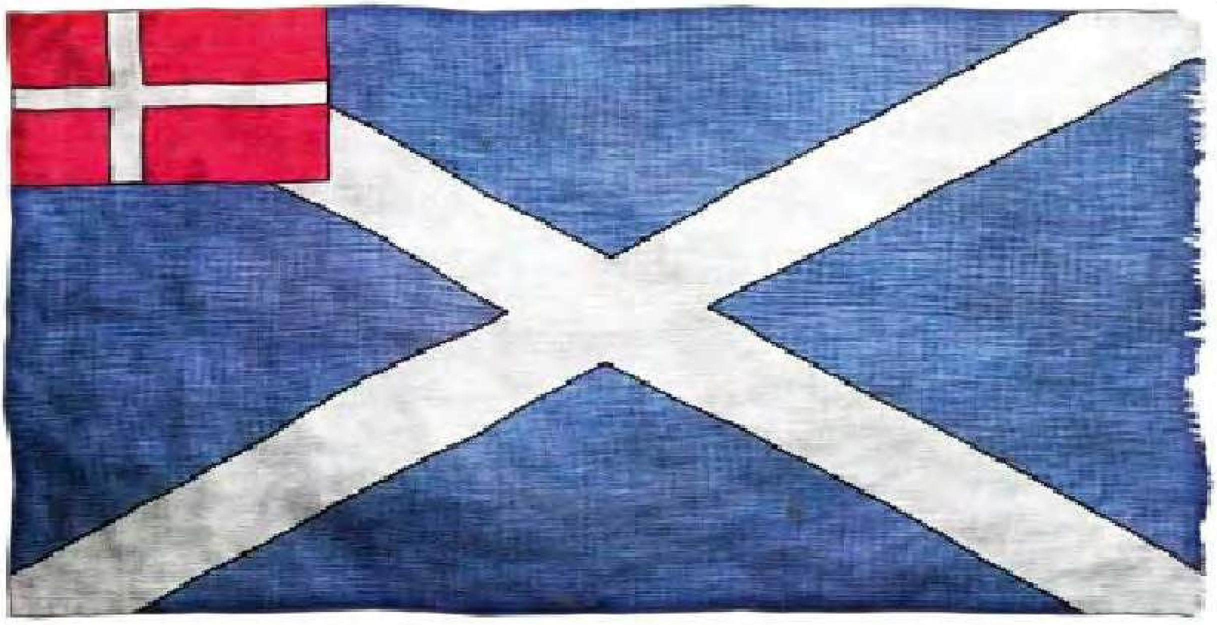
The document did not resolve the Anglo-Scottish conflict, the pope urging a reconciliation between the warring sides. Following the deposition of Edward II in 1327 and consequent discord in England, an opportunity arose to negotiate a settlement. The treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton in March 1328 was supposed to effect a 'final and perpetual peace'. It included the recognition of Robert I as king, and Scottish independence. In 1329, the pope granted a bull – a papal charter permitting the anointing and crowning of the king of Scots by the bishop of St Andrews as the pope's representative, a very important concession.

The Declaration on its own did not cause all this, but its stirring language and its evocative sentiments of nationhood and freedom have given it a special distinction over the centuries since then.

The name 'Declaration of Arbroath' is relatively modern, probably inspired by a perceived connection with the United States Declaration of Independence of 1776. The link between the two Declarations continues to be argued by historians and in 1998, the US Senate passed a resolution stating that 6 April 'has a special significance for all Americans, and especially those of Scottish descent'.

The Senate resolution noted that almost half of the signatories of the US Declaration were of Scottish descent. As a result, 6 April has been designated Tartan Day in the USA.

The Declaration of Arbroath will be displayed in the Kingdom of the Scots gallery at the National Museum of Scotland from 27 March to 26 April. Admittance is free.



A copy of a Scottish Danish flag. These were the colours awarded to the Scottish troops in 1627. It was designed from an original sketch by Rab Gordon of Rainnea Graphics

‘IT STARTED OFF IN FIFE, IT ENDED UP IN TEARS’
SCOTLAND AND THE THIRTY YEARS WAR, 1618-1648

Beginning a two-part series, **Professor Steve Murdoch** explores the role of Scotland and the Scots in the Thirty Years War, the great continental conflict that raged between 1618 and 1648, profoundly shaping the future of all Europe

2018 witnessed a host of conferences commemorating the 400th anniversary of the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. At least three of these events were framed around British involvement in the war, albeit such gatherings seemed more like an exercise in giving the English Civil War another platform. Moreover, it is actually 2019 that marks the four centuries since there was either a Scottish or wider British involvement or interest in the conflict. The Thirty Years' War itself is generally taken to refer to the series of European conflicts that took place between 1618 and 1648.

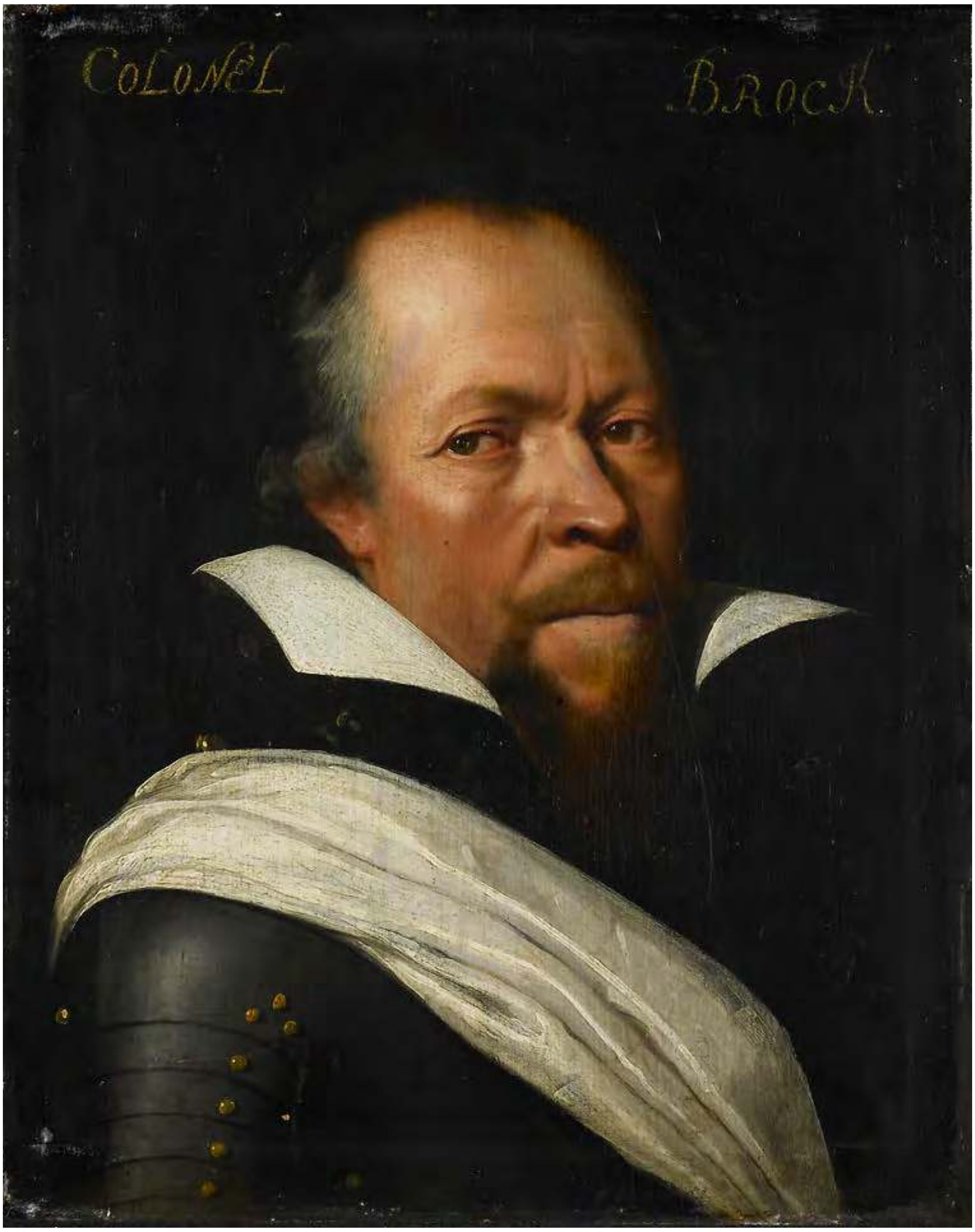
In truth, some of these had a much older pedigree, most importantly the Dutch conflict with Spain, later known as the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648), of which the last 30 years overlapped with what contemporary Britons called the 'German Warres'. Other conflicts rumbled on for years after 1648, most notably from a Scottish perspective being the Franco-Spanish War (1635-59). Clearly the terminology concerning the duration of the war can seem anachronistic, yet it was nevertheless a contemporary term used in several pamphlets in and after 1648. The conflicts engulfed Europe and at various points engaged almost every European kingdom, duchy and city-state in some way or another.

Introduction to the war

The war began in 1618 when the protestant nobles of Bohemia (roughly equating to the modern-day Czech Republic) rejected Ferdinand II of Austria as their elected monarch and threw his representatives out of the window in the famous second defenestration of Prague. Those who were flung survived, but there would be severe consequences thereafter. Ferdinand became Holy Roman Emperor in 1619, the same year that the Bohemians elected Frederick V of the Palatinate as their new king. With Frederick as leader of the Protestant Union (a loose coalition that involved much of reformed Europe), and Ferdinand now at the head of the conglomerate Holy Roman Empire which nominally had control over some of the Protestant Union, the scene was set for a clash of dynastic, religious and political ideas that would go on for the next three decades.

When Frederick V became king of Bohemia, his wife – Princess Elizabeth Stuart – became the queen of Bohemia. This iconic Fife-born daughter of King James VI proved to be the main totem for attracting tens of thousands of Scots into the continental armies fighting for the restoration of the Palatinate and Bohemia. Her fortunes and those of her children were naturally of great concern to the House of Stuart, but also to her German relatives and her blood uncle, Christian IV of Denmark-Norway. From the outset patriotic British broadsheets, poets and authors publicised their hopes for Elizabeth whom they proclaimed to be 'The Jewell of Europe'. The Aberdonian poet Arthur Johnston's two poems *Saravicto to Biomea* and *Biomea to Saravicto* set up a mythical dialogue between the characters 'Austria' and 'Bohemia' to enlighten the Scottish literati. The martial classes were more direct in their desire to get involved.

Publicly at least, King James was not amused that Frederick had accepted the Bohemian crown, thereby risking what he believed to be the peace and security of christendom. Moreover, the coronation of his son-in-law jeopardised Elizabeth and her family. Embassies were sent to the Protestant Union and the Holy Roman Empire to calm the mounting tensions between the various power-blocks, but to little avail.



Sir William Brog, colonel of the Old Scots Guard. Portrait from the workshop of Jan Antonisz van Ravesteyn (*c.*1609-*c.*1633)

The Scottish military diaspora

While continuing complex diplomatic negotiations with both protestant and catholic powers, King James did actually facilitate a number of militarily initiatives. As he already 'owned' five Scottish and English regiments employed in Dutch service he could swiftly move professional veterans to Bohemia without worrying about the cost of levying and training them. James had done this previously during the War of the Jülich Succession (1610) in support of his protestant allies. In so doing James deployed the first known British-flagged army in history with Scots and Englishmen serving together under the command of General Sir Edward Cecil. In both 1610 and 1620, the British units were available to him due to the twelve years truce then in place between Spain and the Dutch Republic (1609-21). Thus in 1620, 1,000 soldiers of the Scots-Dutch brigade under the command of Colonel John Seton were sent to protect Elizabeth Stuart in Bohemia. Subsequently, the Scottish catholic, Sir Andrew Gray, returned from Prague to recruit more soldiers for Frederick V. His 'Regiment of Britons' composed of 1,500 Scots and 1,000 Englishmen set sail for the continent in May 1620 but arrived too late to participate in the battle of White Mountain, where Frederick was defeated. Nevertheless, Colonel Seton held out in the Bohemian town of Trebon until 1622, long after Frederick V and his family had retired to the Dutch Republic. Sir Horace Vere's Englishmen stubbornly held Frankenthal in the Palatinate until March 1623 with the 300 survivors of Gray's levy. Seton and Vere were thwarted in their hope for relief by the politics of finance.

The English parliament scuppered an attempt by King James to facilitate a massive relief army of 12,000 in 1621 by refusing to fund it. For the time being those who wished to fight the Habsburgs did so through service in other combatant armies. The twelve years' truce between the Dutch and the Spanish ended in 1621. All five British regiments stationed in the Netherlands immediately engaged the forces of the Holy Roman Empire. The siege of Bergen-op-Zoom (July to October 1622) was the first major action where they once more served alongside the English under Edward Cecil. The siege proved costly with Colonel Robert Henderson being the highest ranked among the numerous Scots killed defending the city. Indeed, he became something of a poster-boy to the Dutch who proclaimed his actions in storming the enemy trenches to be an example to all their officers.

With the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom broken, and Colonel Seton finally withdrawn out of Bohemia, one may think that it was all over for Scottish participation. In reality, the remainder of King James' reign was given over to plotting larger armies to move directly into the Holy Roman Empire. One such

So trusted were the Scots in the Swedish army that Alexander Leslie became field marshal over the independent army of the Weser

expedition of 12,000 men was levied by Count Ernst von Mansfeld in 1624, among whom some 4,000 Scots were to be commanded once more by Sir Andrew Gray. This levy ended in disaster with most soldiers succumbing to disease before they even reached the other side of the North Sea. Anger at what was perceived to be the poor provisioning and supply to this levy led to a group of Scottish nobles petitioning to be allowed to raise and equip their own army, beyond any interference from England. However, what had seemed to be a straight-forward policy under James – side with protestant allies to recapture the Palatinate for Elizabeth and Frederik V – descended into utter confusion under Charles I.

The Franco-Spanish diversions, 1625-30

A direct war between England and Spain broke out in 1625 and rumbled on until 1630, though it was effectively over after the loss of 50 per cent of the 15,000 soldiers and sailors who participated in the Cadiz expedition. This was largely an English affair, though David Gardiner's ship *The Gift of God of Leith* was wrecked with the loss of all hands after being pressed into royal naval service. In the same storm two English vessels were also lost. Other disasters followed. Charles also recklessly engaged in a needless war against his brother-in-law, Louis XIII of France, in 1627 – the humiliating Île de Ré campaign. An army of some 6,000 men equally composed of Scots, English and Irishmen were easily driven away by the French. The French campaign was seen by contemporaries as quite peripheral to the defence of the Stuart interests in the Palatinate. Christian IV of Denmark-Norway believed his Stuart nephew had failed to support the Danish war against the emperor by engaging in his Spanish and French campaigns. The chaotic nature of the recruiting, supply and command of the British forces cased many problems for recruiters. As Sir George Hay observed in 1627:

> *The desperat courses taken this last yeare by manye in this land in euerie pairt of the cuntrey yea in our sight in the counsell chambre (manye making themselffs away by hanging, stabbing and vther sortes of death; vthers cutting thair lims that thej micht be onseruiceable) and all for feare to be sent to Germanie.*

Opposite: Muster roll of Colonel William Gunn's Scottish cavalry unit. Swedish Military Archives MR1636

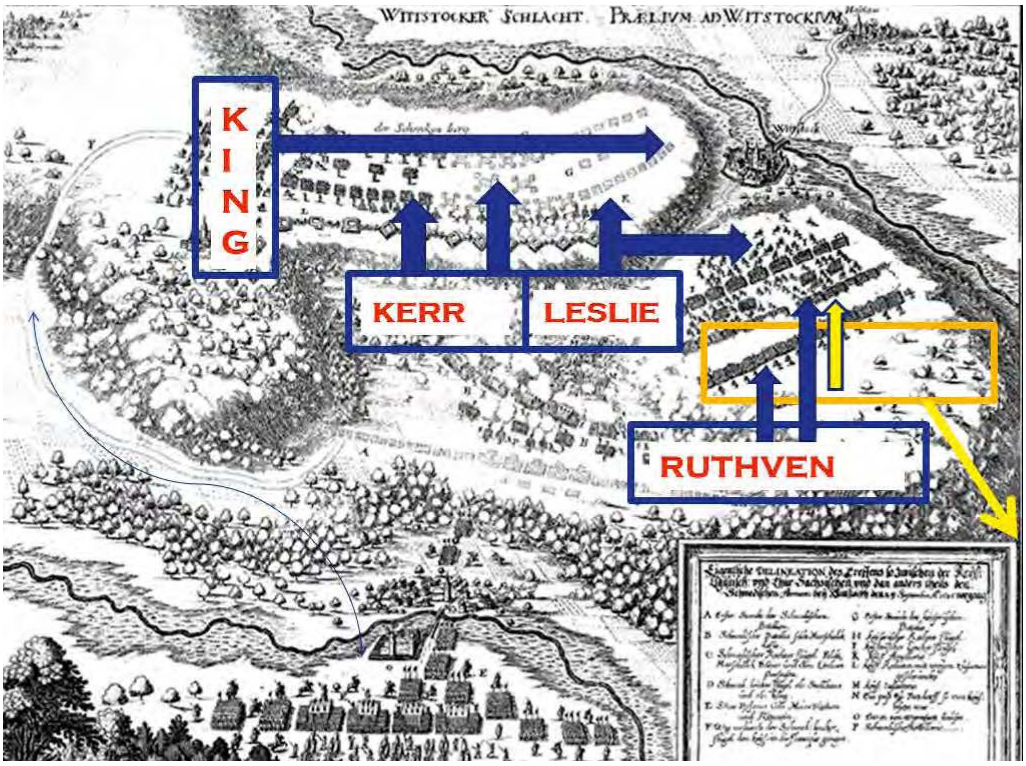


Illustration showing the disposition of the commanders at Wittstock

Under the saltire in Denmark, Sweden and Stralsund

Nevertheless, the Scottish deployments thereafter were huge. A staggering 13,700 Scots entered Danish service between 1627 and 1629 alone. Their most impressive achievement came with the relief of the siege of Stralsund in 1628 which saw three regiments of Scots ensconced in the city, one of which was the famous highland contingent under Donald Mackay, lord Reay. Hearing they were in difficulty, these troops were relieved by volunteer regiments of their countrymen drawn out of Swedish service.

These 'Swedish-Scots' had steadily been recruited since 1624 in the hope of Sweden entering the war on the side of the protestant powers. Together the Scots from the Swedish and Danish armies fell under the command of Sir Alexander Leslie, who also became governor of Stralsund. They inflicted the first serious defeat of the famous imperial commander, Albrecht von Wallenstein. They did so using unconventional tactics, at least by continental standards. As Robert Monro recorded in his regimental history, they marched in single column directly at their enemy. The musketeers expended all their ammunition and as the retired to the city 'to make their retreat good, [it] falls upon Captain Mac-Kenzee with the old Scottish blades of our Regiment, to suppresse the enemies fury, they keeping face to their enemies, while their Camerades were retiring'. From accompanying broadsheets and descriptions of Mackay's regiment, we can be sure the old blades also brought their bows, dirks and targes to bear in addition to their broadswords.

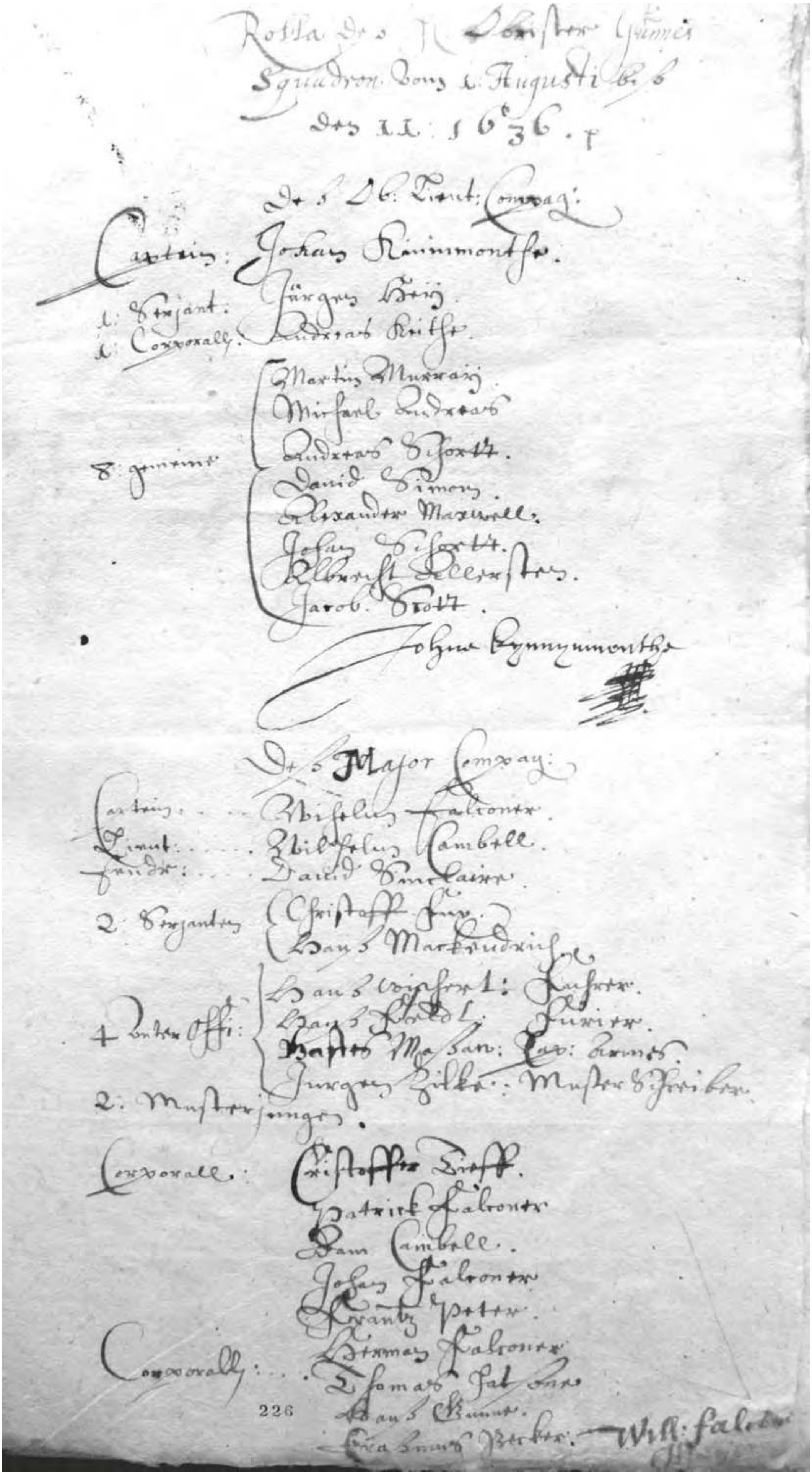
An old-school highland melee followed and the Scots compelled Wallenstein to lift the siege. Over the next year and a half, Leslie led his troops in combined land and amphibious operations, clearing remnant Imperial garrisons with near impunity. This allowed for the 1630 landing of the massive Swedish army under Gustav II Adolf, who had taken on leadership of the protestant cause after Christian IV concluded peace with the emperor the previous year at the treaty of Lübeck. The Danish campaign had been costly, however. As William Lithgow later penned in his poem *Scotland's Welcome to her native sonne, and Sovereign Lord* (1633):

> *Thus look to Denmark*
> *where twelve thousand lye*
> *Serving thine Uncle,*
> *sharpest fortunes try*

The rise of the army of the Weser

James, marquis of Hamilton brought a large army to serve beside the Swedes in 1631, mostly composed of Scots. The Hamilton army of *c.*8000 men joined some 12,000 Scots already in Swedish service. In effect there were now two Scottish armies in Sweden. Hamilton insisted on taking the coveted title of 'General of British' from his countryman, Sir James Spens of Wormiston. The Swedes reacted to this by awarding Spens the title of 'General of Scots' to command the Scottish regiments that pre-dated Hamilton's arrival. It was these men who formed the famous Scots brigade that fought with distinction at the battle of Breitenfeld in 1631 while Hamilton's 'British' were deployed elsewhere. Although Hamilton participated in some undeniably brave actions, his forces were riddled with disease, and his reinforcement regiments were consequently redirected directly into the Swedish army rather than risk contagion.

Though Hamilton returned home the following year, he remained one of some fifteen Scots to attain the rank of general within the Swedish army. The reputation of the Scots at this time grew so much that one German broadsheet artist humorously drew a highlander literally 'spanking the Imperialists' at Lützen (1632) – the battle in which Gustav II Adolf had died. So trusted were the Scots in the Swedish army that Alexander Leslie became field marshal over the independent army of the Weser. This *Arme Volante* was composed largely



Rolla des [illegible] Schotten [illegible]
Squadron vom 1. Augusti bis 6
des 11. 1636.

Des H. Ob. Lieut: Compag:
Captein: Johan Kininmonthe.
1: Sergant: Jürgen Krig.
1: Corporall: Andreas Keithe.
8: gemeine: Martin Murraij. / Michael Andreas / Andreas Schortt. / David Simon. / Alexander Maxwell. / Johan Schortt. / Albrecht [illegible]. / Jacob Scott.
Johne Kynnynmonthe

Des Major Compag:
Captein: Michel Falconer.
Lieut: Wilhelm Cambell.
Fendr: David Sinclaire.
2: Sergantenn: Christoff Kerr. / Hans Marckandrische
4 Unter Offi: Hans [illegible] 1: Furierer. / Hans [illegible] 2: Furierer. / Baptist Masan: Cap: darmes. / Jurgen Zilke: Musterschreiber.
2: Musterjungen.
Corporale: Christoffer [illegible]. / Patrick Falconer / Adam Cambell. / Johan Falconer / Frantz Peter. / Herman Falconer
Corporall: Thomas Falconer / Hans [illegible]. / Erasmus Becker: Will: Falcon

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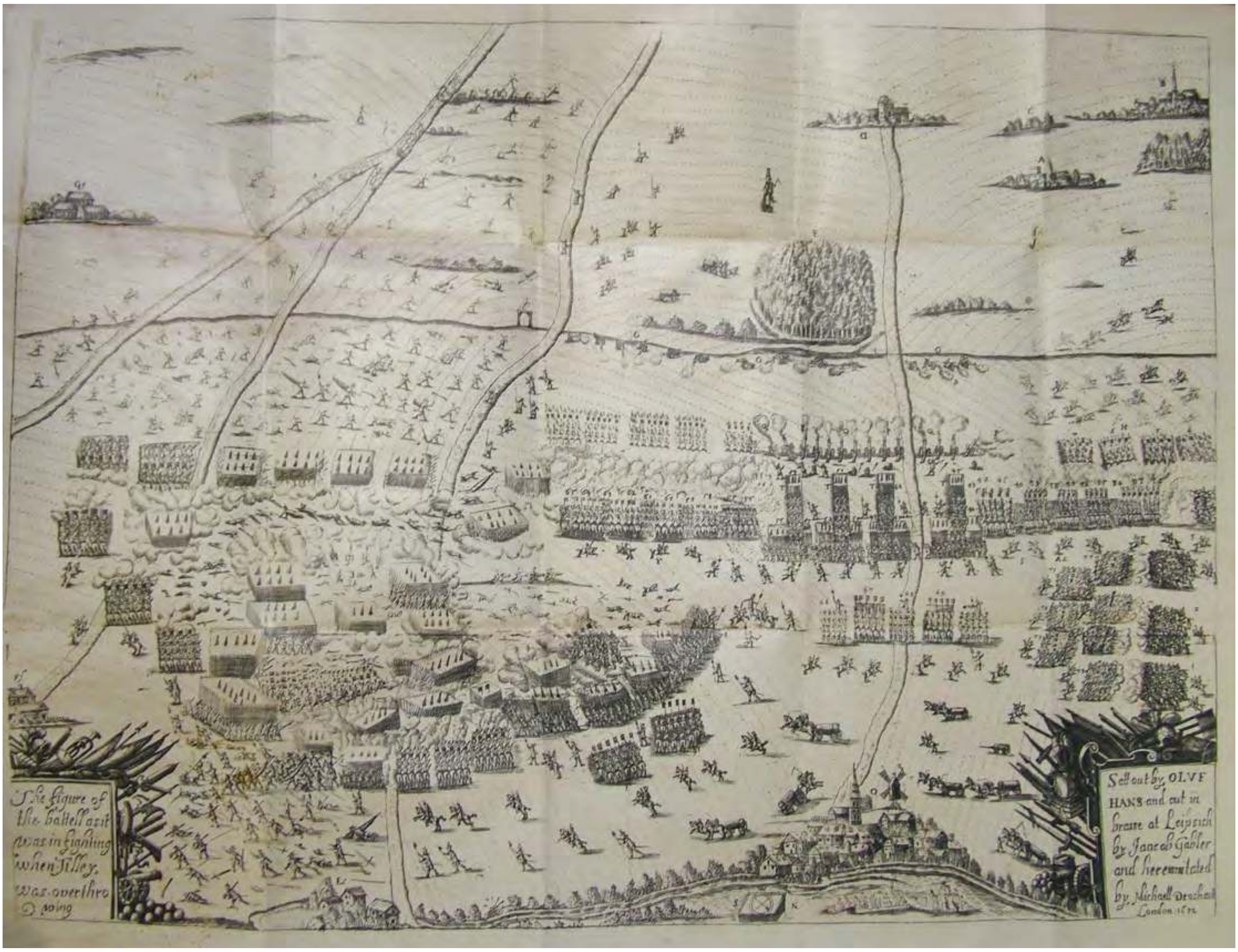

The figure of the battell as it was in fighting when Tilley was overthrowing
Sett out by OLVE HANS and cut in brasse at Leipsich by Jacob Gabler and heereuntated by Michaell Drochsell London 1632

The battle of Breitenfeld (1631)

of the remnant Scottish regiments still in service by 1635, backed by German recruits and one regiment of Englishmen. When it looked briefly like the Swedes might come to a treaty with the emperor, Leslie declared that he would keep his 'Scottish army' in the field to secure the Palatinate for Elizabeth. As it was the Swedes also remained engaged.

> *We have moved beyond the great men and big battles. The role of women, widows, children and orphans in the war is now finally being properly researched*

The main Swedish army was commanded by Johan Banér, and with this combined force Leslie achieved a stunning victory at Wittstock in 1636 over a larger imperial-Saxon army. Leslie commanded the centre supported by Major General Thomas Kerr. The left wing was composed of cavalry under Lieutenant General James King. In a move strikingly similar to the opening scenes in the movie *Gladiator*, King achieved a spectacular traverse of dense woodland to get behind the imperialists causing panic and rout. He even sent rockets into the air to let the infantry know when to advance. Despite the battle being almost won, Major General Vitzthum – the German commander of the reserve – refused to advance, leaving Major General John Ruthven to take command. This put three out of four sections of the Swedish army under Scottish command. The Swedes under Banér on the right were soon in disarray. In his official report of the battle, Banér attributed victory to Leslie's army. Three years later he wrote a very different account of the battle in which the victory was entirely his and the Swedes alone. This later became the offical version that informed generations of Swedish and German scholars.

Wittstock was not the only action of the Scots in 1636. At the battle of Saverne in Marechal, John Hepburn was killed. However his intention of raising an army of 10,000 men from Scotland survived him, even if it took some years to reach full fruition. Two regiments joined his old one by 1639 (still bearing his name) and this was projected to rise to a total of five regiments numbering over 9,500 men by 1643. This is perhaps surprising given the outbreak of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639-1660).

By 1639 many thousands of veterans formed the core of the army of the covenant. Organised by field marshal Alexander Leslie, and with support from Sweden, France and the Dutch Republic, a well-disciplined army humbled Charles I's forces twice during the Bishops'

Wars (1639-1640). The covenanters could only take these veterans home on the promise of returning to the continent once the troubles in Britain were resolved. This was reinforced when Karl I Ludwig (Charles Louis) of the Palatinate, the son of Elizabeth of Bohemia, travelled with his uncle, Charles I, and sat beside him in the Scottish parliament in 1641. So ensconced, Karl was promised 10,000 men of the army of the covenant with which to reclaim his ancestral home in the Palatinate. Only the outbreak of the confederate rebellion in Ireland prevented this and saw the covenanters being hastily redeployed to Ulster. It would be easy to assume that the 1640s saw the end of meaningful Scottish participation overseas, but that proved surprisingly not to be the case.

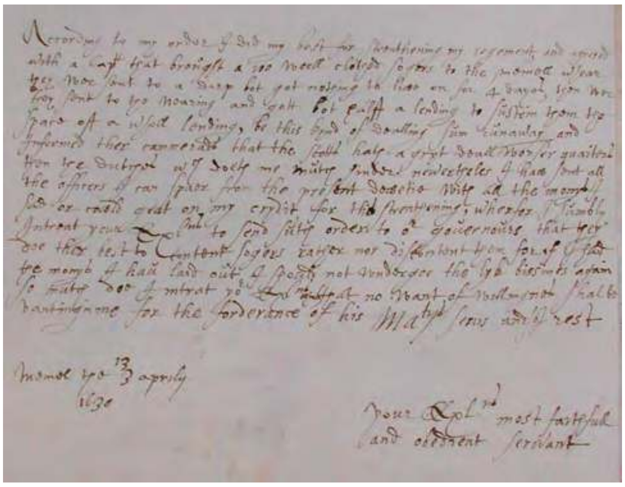
Beyond the Wars of the Three Kingdoms

Many thousands of Scots had remained on the continent, having prioritised the original aims of their service over the ongoing conflict at home. Doctrinaire calvinists appeared to prefer Dutch service to any other and left for the continent in droves after the treaty of London ended the fighting in Scotland. By 1642 the three regiments of the Scots-Dutch brigade were brought back up to full strength. Sir Robert Moray led the push to fill the five French regiments. Some of these were Stuart loyalists keen to finish the war for the Palatinate. Others were catholics and episcopalians seeking to avoid persecution in covenanted Scotland. Surprisingly, quite a few were presbyterians. After the renewed civil war in Scotland in 1644, royalist prisoners were sent to France where they fought against the empire thereafter. The Scottish regiments they joined, particularly Moray's *Garde Écossaise* and the James Douglas's *Regiment de Douglas* (formerly Hepburn's), distinguished themselves repeatedly, most notably at the battle of Lens in 1648. This proved to be the last pitched battle of the Thirty Years' War and one in which the Scots remained the last infantry regiment on the field before they were finally relieved by French cavalry units.

Decommissioned soldiers of the army of the solemn league joined the Swedes in Germany in 1647 in time for the final push towards Prague the following year. It had been Alexander Leslie's intention to send out a full 10,000 men to Sweden to help finish the war once he reduced his army on their return from England in January 1647. However, Hamilton's gaining control of the Scottish parliament scuppered the full levy and only two regiments have been shown to have reached the continent to participate in the Prague campaign. In this eleventh-hour action we find the last known Scottish casualty killed in action in the course of the conflict. His name was Major Alexander Kinnemond, and he died during an assault on Prague's fortifications on 20 October 1648, just four days before the signing of the treaty of Westphalia that ended the Thirty Years' War.

It is worth noting that at the time of that assault, ten out of the 21 native Swedish infantry regiments had Scottish colonels. Eight more German regiments were also commanded by Scots. In the cavalry, Robert Douglas served as a newly-promoted lieutenant general. In addition to his military role, this man assumed diplomatic duties and was credited with temporarily removing Bavaria from the war by negotiating the treaty of Ulm (1647).

Given the role of such commanders – and of course the central position of Elizabeth of Bohemia – we should question the historical myopia which tends to give primacy to early modern conflicts within Britain rather than try to understand those who chose to remain or go abroad. This has been addressed to some degree in recent scholarship which has certainly highlighted the role of the senior commanders and the actions they engaged in. Moreover, we now have a greater understanding of many equally important aspects of the war, including the role of the common soldier, the importance and use of medical provision, and motivations for participation in the war. We have moved beyond the great men and big battles. The role of women, widows, children and orphans in the war is now finally being properly researched. So too can we now read the letters of the common soldier. To many people it is these aspects – those left behind and the 'wee folk' – that can engage the historical imagination as much as the war itself.



A letter from General James Ramsay to his commanding officer, berating him for giving preferential treatment to Swedes over Scots

Steve Murdoch is Professor of History at the University of St Andrews. He researches early modern Scottish interactions with northern Europe. He specialises in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) and the evolution of international maritime law (1513-1713).

Join us for the concluding part of the series in the May/June issue, on sale 11 April.

FURTHER READING

The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, 3 vols (Oxford, 2011-9), ed. N. Akkermann

Alexander Leslie and the Scottish Generals of the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648 (London, 2014), S. Murdoch and A. Grosjean

'Drummer Major James Spens: Letters from a Common Soldier Abroad, 1617-1632', *Northern Studies*, 47 (2015), A. Murdoch, A. Grosjean and S. Talbott, 76-101

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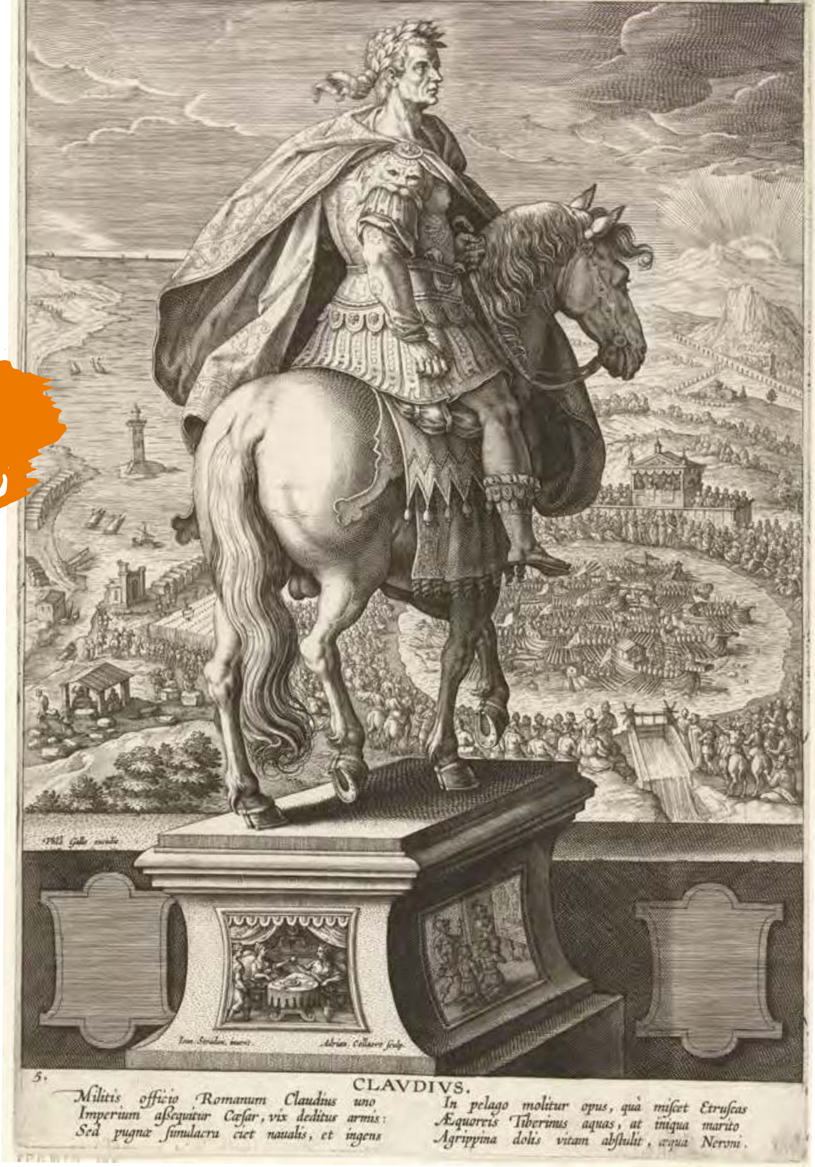
The Roman artillery in Scotland

John Richardson of The Antonine Guard living history society explores the weapons used by Roman troops in Scotland after the establishment of military bases from 79AD


Ioan. Stradan. invent.
Adrian. Collaert sculp.
5.
CLAVDIVS.
Militis officio Romanum Claudius uno
Imperium aſsequitur Cæſar, vix deditus armis:
Sed pugnæ ſimulacra ciet naualis, et ingens
In pelago molitur opus, quà miſcet Etruſcas
Æquoreis Tiberinus aquas, at iniqua marito
Agrippina dolis vitam abſtulit, æqua Neroni.

Emperor Claudius

Following the invasion by the Roman emperor Claudius in 43AD, the island of Britain was to see the introduction of a different range of weapons being brought over the sea by the legions of Rome. There was one Roman tribune (officer) who was to become famous among the tribes of Britain – his name was Gnaeus Julius Agricola.

Born in the Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis (present-day France) in 40AD, Agricola was destined to conquer much of Britain – and become governor. It was always the aim of any emperor of Rome to advance beyond the frontiers of new lands, and so by 79AD, Agricola and his army of around 20,000 soldiers advanced into Caledonia, the Roman name given to the land north of their province Britannia. Over the next five years Scotland was to come into contact with the legions of Rome and their range of firepower.

When the Roman army entered the landscape of the Cheviots they saw the sight of the Eildon hills with their three peaks and decided this would be the main base for all their military operations in Scotland. Their fort here would house a mounted cavalry troop estimated to be some 500 in strength. It was from here that military roads into Scotland were set up.

Statue of Agricola at the Roman baths in the town of Bath

As the legions advanced further into Scotland they needed to establish military bases, one of the most important of which would be at Ardoch. During this period the Romans also constructed a series of watch towers and small forts along the Gask Ridge in Perthshire, and at Angus. These were the forerunner of both Hadrian's wall and the Antonine wall. Although the Romans never conquered Scotland, they did leave a legacy through a vast network of roads. It was these roads and their naval prowess that enabled the Romans to import a range of artillery suited for warfare in Scotland's landscapes.

This artillery would have been at all major forts on the Antonine wall, as well as Rough Castle, Barr Hill and Bearsden to name a few.

The main weapons

During the Roman period, artillery took many different shapes and designs, with the purpose of inflicting damage not only on the opposing ground forces, but also in attacking and weakening their defences and enemy strongholds.

When the Roman army came to Scotland the troops soon discovered that the large weapons deployed to such great effect on the continent would prove unsuitable for British terrain. Therefore Roman engineers were tasked with coming up with smaller, more manageable weapons that could be easily transported. One such weapon was the ballista, in many aspects similar to a large crossbow and operated in much the same way by firing iron-tipped bolts into both the opposing infantry forces and also towards enemy positions.

This ballista came in different sizes; the arms could be between 2ft and 4ft. The smaller version could be extremely effective up to at least 300ft, whilst the larger versions could almost double this range up to 600ft. While the ballista could fire iron-tipped bolts it was also capable of firing large stones at both infantry and enemy walls and positions.

The Roman artillery soldiers could hit both enemy warriors and projectiles within the enemy compounds. Such was the energy of the impact, plus the tremendous speed (which has been estimated to be around 120 mph), that it would have had an immediate and devastating effect on anything or anyone standing in its path.

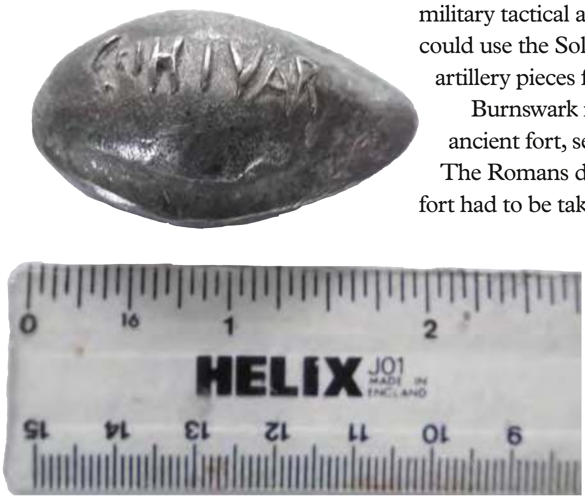
The scorpion

The Roman writer Vitruvius tells us that the scorpion was another type of artillery used to devastating effect. It was basically a smaller version of the catapult, and by the time of Julius Caesar, this type of lightweight artillery piece had become a standard issue to the legions. Being lightweight, it would be used both in defence and in attacks on the enemy. Again this weapon followed its larger brothers by using the torsion spring system, which gave it great power in firing the iron-tipped bolts at high speed. Although Roman engineers discovered that this weapon could be affected by both moisture and temperature, it continued to be used until the end of the Roman Byzantine empire.

From the times of the Roman republic and earlier periods of Rome, each legion had 60 scorpions as standard issue for their artillery, which meant that for every 80-100 men there was one such weapon. Therefore at the time of the building of the Antonine wall by the three Legions, there would have been many such weapons in operation in the forts, from Old Kirkpatrick on the Clyde to Boness on the Forth.

The Eildon hills

Aerial view of Rough Castle Roman fort, Antonine wall



A lead sling shot

The scorpion had two main functions in every legion: it could be used for shooting practice and also became a weapon of marksmanship, so that any enemy soldiers within a range of 150 yards could be cut down. Julius Caesar tells us of the scorpion's precision when firing. If the adjustment to parabolic firing was used then its range could at least 400 yards. Experts have rated the firing rate to be at least four bolts per minute, but at these distances the precise hits would be less.

The Solway Firth

A very important training ground for the Romans was Burnswark, which lies close to the area today known as the Solway. This location gave the Roman military tactical advantage as they could use the Solway inlet to bring up artillery pieces for the troops there.

Burnswark is in an area with an ancient fort, set atop a 900-foot hill. The Romans decided that this hill fort had to be taken, so they established at least two Roman military camps at its base. Here, archaeologists have found sling lead shots (bullets) as well as stones. It is interesting to note that those closely also resemble similar Roman artillery pieces found in Masada fort in Israel, which came under siege just as in the case of the hill fort at Burnswark.

Roman navy

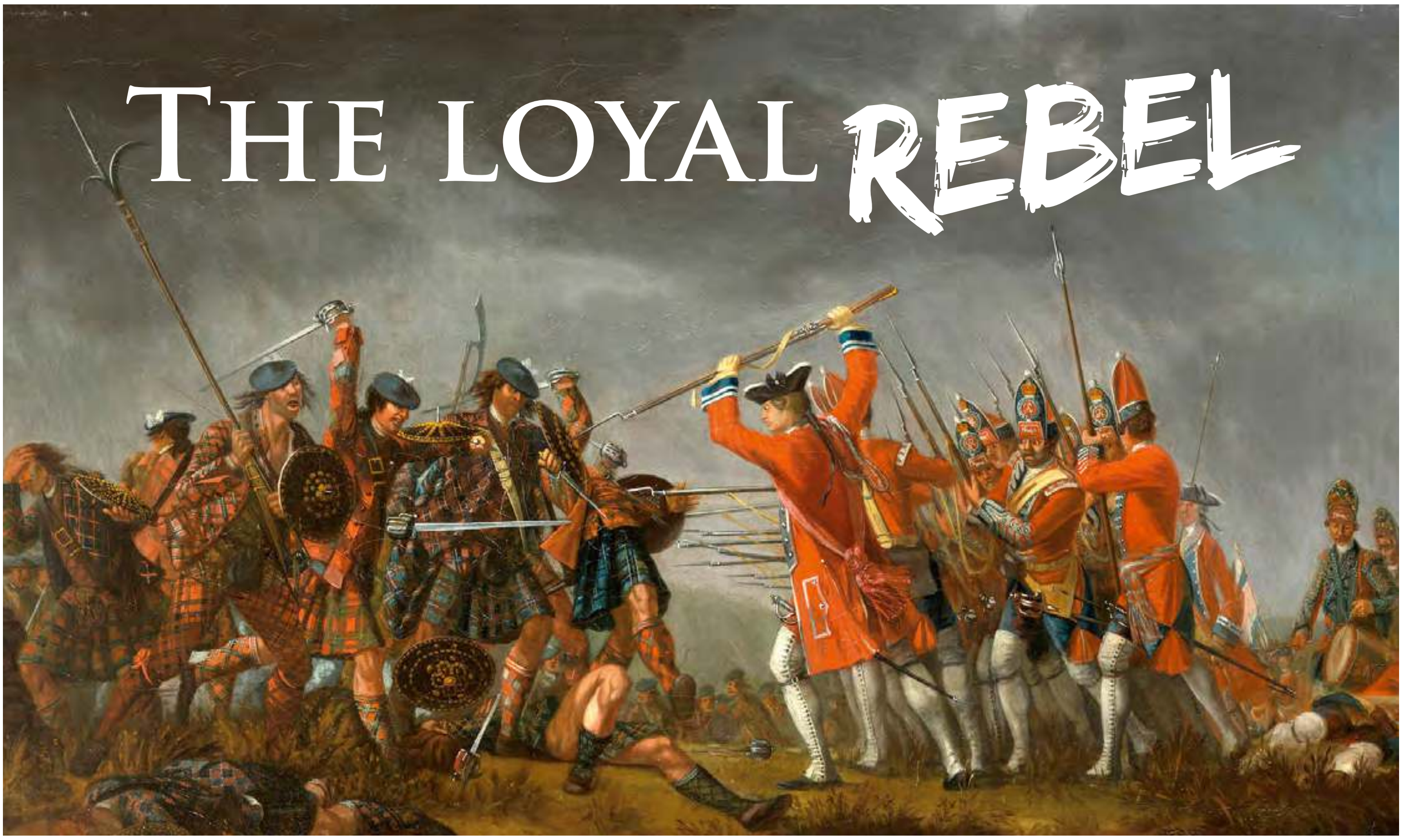
The fleets of the Roman imperial navy had a range of ballistas on board their ships and these had the same effect as the ground-based weapons. This led to the Roman navy having dominance on the seas; as well as control of the coastal waters and main rivers. These fleets would have played a very important role when the legions were in Scotland, in estuaries like the Moray Firth, the Tay, the Forth and the Clyde, bringing up supplies, artillery and men as required by the legions while in Scotland from the time of Agricola until the later invasions of Septimius Severus in 200AD.

FURTHER READING

Greek and Roman Artillery 399 BC to AD 363 (Oxford, 2003), D B.Campbell

For details of The Antonine Guard living history group, visit: http://www.theantonineguard.org.uk

THE LOYAL REBEL



The battle of Culloden, which Johnstone experienced – and later wrote about – at first hand

Denis Frize recounts the extraordinary life of James Johnstone, rebel against George II, *aide-de-camp* to Charles Edward Stuart, and loyal chevalier to Louis XV of France in his struggle for Canada

Even in Rome, it's cold in January.

So the young man coming out into the pre-dawn must have wrapped his hunting attire around him at the beginning of the second week of 1744. He was leaving behind him the familiarity of the squares around him – the Trevi fountains, the church of the holy apostles where he and his family had attended mass, and most of all his home for some years now – the Palazzo Muti, now renamed the Palazzo di Re since the young man's father, James Stuart, recognised by the pope and an as yet indeterminate number of Britons as James VIII/III, king of England, Scotland and Ireland, had taken up residence.

The young man – Charles Edward Louis Casimir Silvester Maria Stuart – Carluccio, Tearlach, Charlie as he would become known in many languages was, in Jacobite iconography, 'Spes Britanniae' – the Hope of Britain. It was to fulfil this hope that the prince, giving his brother the slip, now set off northward, to Paris, to Gravelines and through a near sinking by the British navy, to appear at Glenfinnan, a simple white rose he had plucked in his bonnet, and with seven companions raised his standard and proposed to take over the throne of Great Britain.

In September 1745 another young man was preparing to leave his family home.

This was James Johnstone, a representative of the young men of Alternative Scotland. Episcopalian, not calvinist. Free-drinking, theatre-going, art-loving when on the Grand Tour. For 40 years they had fought a religious civil war with the calvinists whom they saw as plunging Scotland into Stygian gloom. Their heroes were Bonnie Dundee and Tam Dalziel with his horsemen on Scots greys, who had had a short way with these ministers of misery.

But God works in mysterious ways. The victories of William of Orange, to this day vociferously celebrated in central Scotland, had indeed, to the calvinists, been a fulfilment of prophecy, with the meek, not the lairds, inheriting the earth.

But among the undismayed roistering Caledonian cavaliers, James Johstone won the coat and badge every year. Such was his dissipation, his despairing well-to-do Edinburgh family had used their considerable connections to have him enrolled in the Russian army, but he proved a wild child even in that uninhibited *milieu* and now here he was, at 25 years old, back in Edinburgh.

And then came the call.

Conversion from an aimless life to one of purpose is a common enough feature of the religious world. But the military world can do that too.

By 5 September, Prince Charles Edward had reached Perth. His revolutionary mountain men and their chiefs had outwitted the government army's commander-in-chief, General John Cope. The two armies had done a *pas-de-deux*. The Jacobites came down what is now the A9. General Cope had left the security of Stirling castle and struck north through Crieff, eventually debouching into Aberdeen.

Johnstone himself, by then an experienced senior officer, was scathing about Cope in his reminiscence, *A Memoir of The Forty-Five*. At Stirling:

> *There is a stone bridge across the river but it is commanded by the guns of the Castle and General Cope might have shut the Prince up in the mountains by merely remaining with his army at Stirling. The position was central and very advantageous for covering Edinburgh, an object of which he should never have lost sight.*

Charles Edward, at this stage of his life a master of propaganda, doubled the size of his army at Perth. In front of his guerrillas, he took out his sword and threw away the scabbard, promising he would not sheathe the sword until he had made his audience throughout Britain 'a free and happy people'.

And like a moth to the flame, the irresolute now became the confirmed:

> *As soon as the news of the Prince's landing was confirmed at Edinburgh, I immediately repaired to the house of Lord Rollo* [his sister's husband], *about four miles from Perth… and on the sixth of September I left it to join the Prince.*

Friend or foe?

Promotion was immediate. Johnstone was made *aide-de-camp* to Lord George Murray. This twice-proscribed Jacobite, born in what is now Historic Environment Scotland's of Huntingtower, became Johnstone's lifelong hero. Looking back on it all, he wrote:

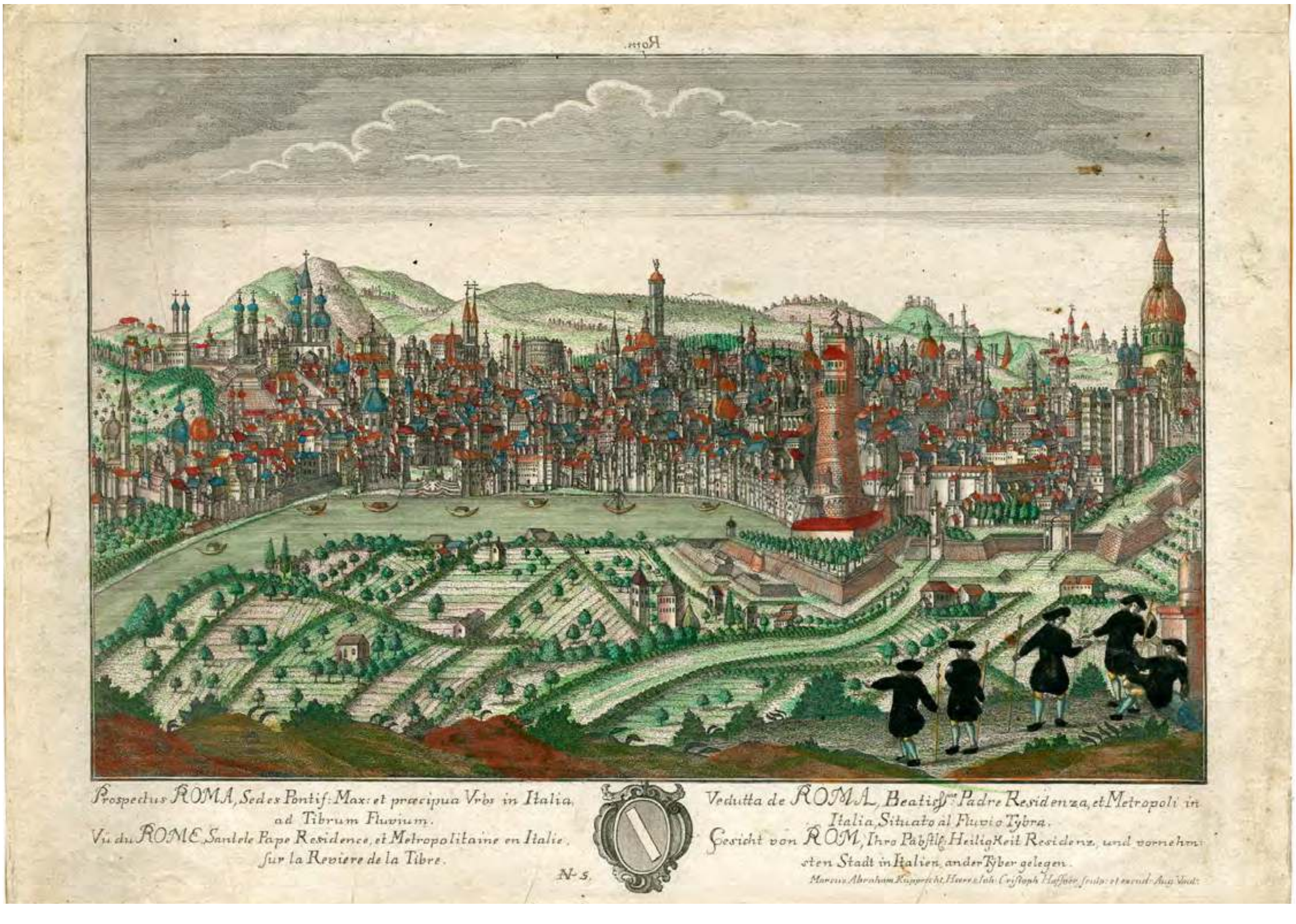
> *Had Prince Charles slept during the whole of the expedition and allowed Lord George to act for him, according to his judgement, there is every reason for supposing he would have found the crown of Great Britain on his head when he awoke.*

Not a view everyone shared, especially after Lord George's supporting the retreat from Derby, the retreat from Stirling and rank disobedience on Culloden field when Charles ordered him to provide cover against the enfilading fire which destroyed the MacDonald charge.

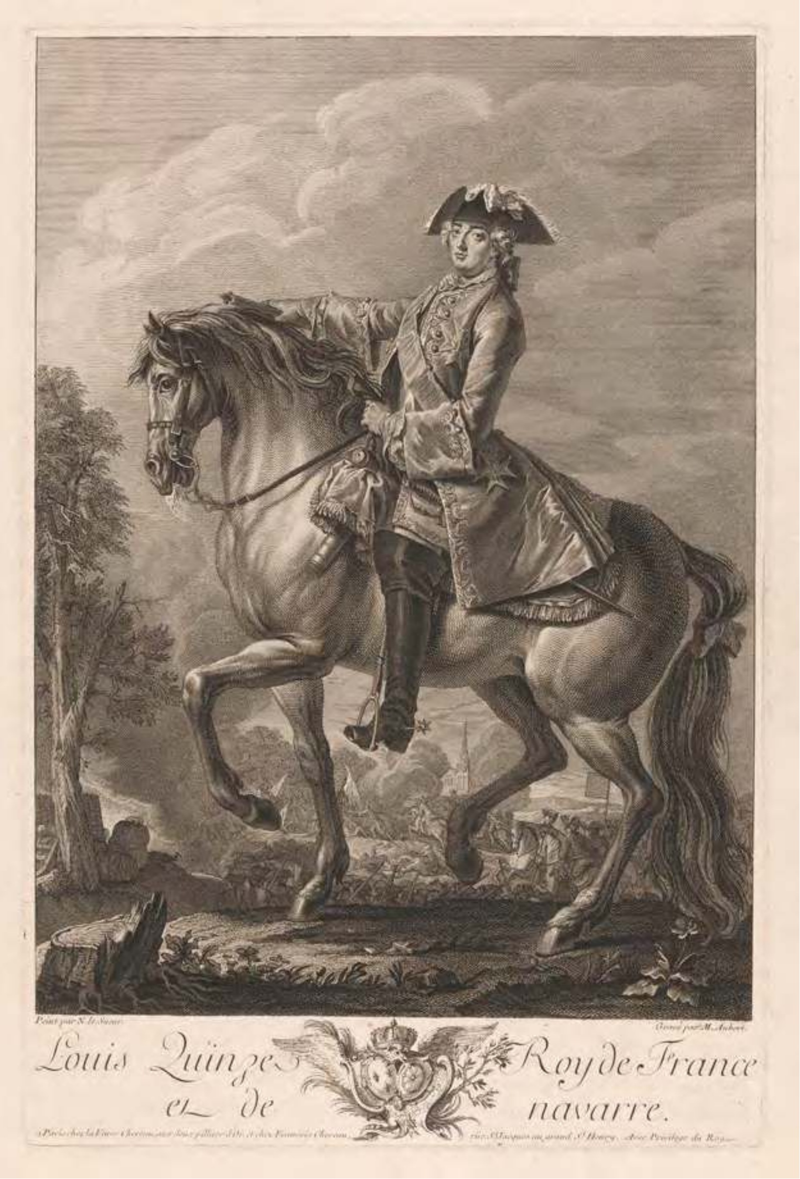
Murray was a man of peremptory temperament, regarding himself as the only professional soldier among a bunch of amateurs; the sort of man who resigns twice a week. Only a fortnight before joining the army at Perth, he had been deputy sheriff of Crieff and had collogued with Cope. According to Lord Elcho, also joining at Perth, Charles told him 'Lord George had joined him only to betray him' and that Charles kept two Irishmen with loaded pistols constantly on the *qui vive* against any attempt by Lord George to assassinate him. And Lord George's son, a recent graduate of Eton college, had just taken an ensign's commission in a British regiment. But Johstone remained unwavering in his admiration.

Triumph in Prestonpans and Edinburgh

And so the highland irregulars


Prospectus ROMA, Sedes Pontif: Max: et præcipua Vrbs in Italia, ad Tibrum Fluvium.
Vü du ROME Santele Pape Residence, et Metropolitaine en Italie, sur la Reviere de la Tibre.
N. 5.
Vedutta de ROMA, Beatiss.mo Padre Residenza, et Metropoli in Italia, Situato al Fluvio Tybra.
Gesicht von ROM, Ihro Päbstl: Heiligkeit Residenz, und vornehmsten Stadt in Italien, an der Tyber gelegen.
Marcus Abraham Rupprecht Haeres Ioh: Cristoph Haffner sculp: et excud: Aug: Vind:

Rome in 1745, around the time Prince Charles Edward Stuart left the city for Scotland, for many the 'hope of Britain'


Peint par N. le Sueur
Gravé par M. Aubert
Louis Quinze Roy de France et de navarre.

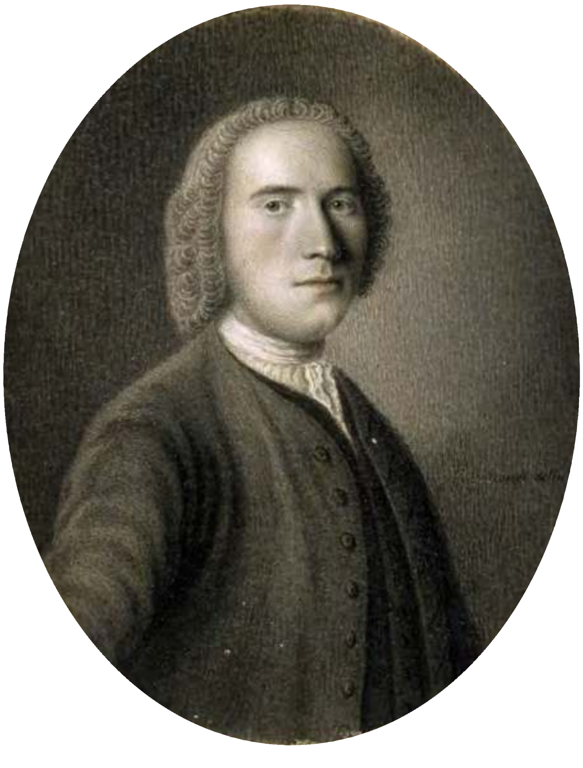
Louis XV, whom Johnstone would loyally serve in the struggle for Canada

pressed forward, winning the war of the mind by their fiercesome reputation. Another Murray, Murray of Broughton, describes them:

> *There was scarce a man among them that would not readily have run upon certain death if by it his* (Charles's) *cause might have received any advantage.*

There are those who denigrate this ardour as being the desperate actions of the forced vassals of the highland clan system. But if that was the case, then it is improbable that you could force spontaneous cheers out of their throats, as Broughton describes – 'huzzas and acclamations that even rent the sky whenever they saw him'.

And they had a lot to huzza. The irresistible force took Edinburgh, the only immovable object being the castle rock with its garrison. They smashed General Cope's forces: 'The panic-terror of the English surpassed all imagination' – claiming to have killed 1,300 of the enemy and taking 1,450 prisoners of war, among whom one Alan Stewart. He got a new coat in the prince's forces and as Alan Breck Stewart was to have his name carved in highland history and Scottish literature: his disgruntled latter days in Paris paralleled those of our subject.



Lord George Murray, for whom Johnstone became *aide-de-camp*

Now Johnstone was not to know this but here began what was probably the high point of his life.

At home in his own city. Assured access to all the glitter of the court. Now a success his father and adoring mother could boast of.

On the eve of Prestonpans he had managed to escape the irascible Murray's employment as his ADC (general factotum) and was now a captain of his own command.

But the Prince told his supporters he had not come to Edinburgh 'for the dancing'. With Charles, as he had told Cardinal de Tencin, it was 'all or nothing'. And so on 1 November the Jacobite host set out from Edinburgh, sold another British army a complete dummy and ended up in front of Carlisle, intent now on capturing England – an 'enterprise bold, nay rash and unexampled' as Johnstone called it. He was never an uncritical supporter of Charles – 'What man in his senses could think of encountering the English armies with four thousand five hundred Highlanders?'

But an insurgent force is not a regular force and by its very unorthodoxy it will achieve things in which a regular army will fail, as witness countless examples in the 20th century, as one man in Johnstone's own regiment was about to prove. Step forward Sergeant Dixon, a prisoner from Prestonpans now on the Jacobite side. And his girlfriend. Between them, armed only with a blunderbuss, they captured Manchester.

Captain Johnstone had expressly forbidden Sergeant Dixon to go into Manchester to 'drum up for the yellow-haired laddie'. But go he and his girlfriend did and found themselves surrounded and threatened by those who preferred the House of Hanover. The pair outfaced them, circling round and round with the blunderbuss pointed at their assailants. This attracted an entourage of local Jacobites, who chased off the government supporters, to such an extent that the pair returned to camp with 800 recruits to the prince's forces, thereafter named the Manchester regiment. Johnstone does not record if he reprimanded Sergeant Dixon for disobeying his orders.

So now the rushing highland torrent flowed on to flood Derby. Only to be dammed.

Johnstone reflects the split counsels at Jacobite HQ as to whether to rush the last 100 miles to London or heed the voice of caution and retreat:

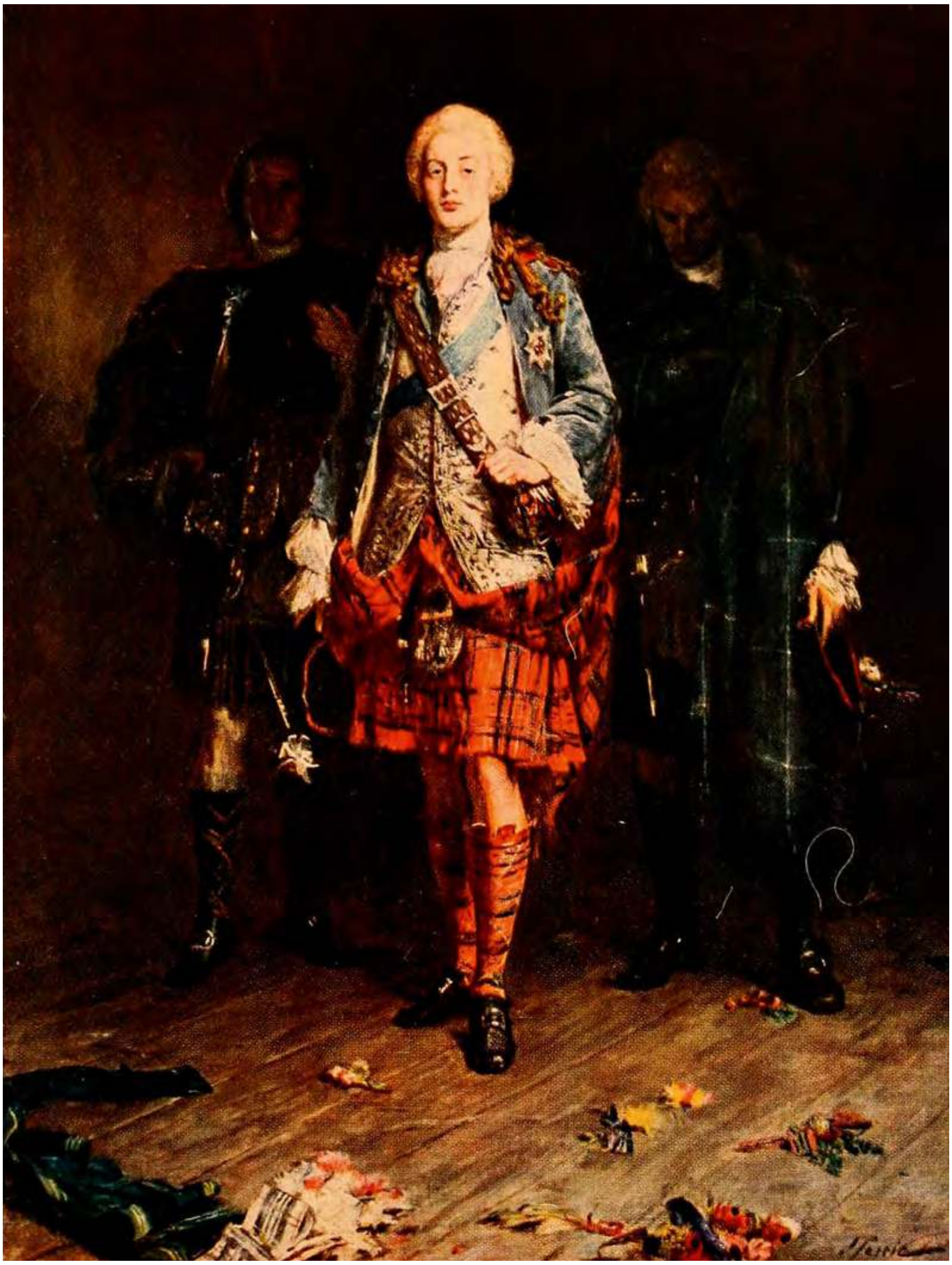
> *I dare not decide whether we did right or wrong in returning to Scotland. The Supreme Being alone can penetrate into futurity… the human mind is extremely limited in its foresight… Bravery, even when carried to the length of ferocity, cannot effect impossibilities.*

The long, sullen retreat north

They had the better of a skirmish near Carlisle. Then on a pouring wet January night on the braes above Falkirk they sent General Hawley's forces reeling back to Edinburgh, leaving their cannon behind them. In the Howgate shopping centre in Falkirk there is a glass panel from 1861 depicting the prince entering Falkirk, where, in Jacobite legend, he supped on General Hawley's dinner.

In the course of the campaign, the Jacobite insurgents won every engagement against the government forces. Johnstone tells us they even captured a royal navy frigate off Montrose by sailing out to it in fishing boats in the fog. Until Culloden.

We are lucky to have in James Johnstone a participant in the middle of a battle which had such enormous consequences not only for which dynasty ruled but also for the tiniest highland hamlet and its social system: and radical ramifications in demography for central Scotland, Canada and the Antipodes.



Prince Charles Edward Stuart

He devotes a whole chapter of his *Memoir* to 'The Disaster Of Culloden'.

The highlanders were already exhausted from an aborted commando raid on the government army the night before. Johnstone expostulates that they should have drawn up earthworks and recruited their strength behind them, while Cumberland would have had to wait inactive across the crucial bogland between the two armies. Instead, as soon as the prince saw his enemy, he immediately, as was his abiding principle, ordered the charge. Such was the nature of the bog, the right and centre of the army outpaced the left, thus rendering the impact of the charge uneven.

Johnstone's personal account came from inside the actual battle. Only 20 paces from the enemy, his best friend Scothouse 'was killed by my side'.

Simultaneously, the government army caught them in the arms of a set-square. The redcoats were facing them head-on, 'drawn up in six ranks, the three first being on their knees, and keeping up a terrible running fire on us'. But on the right of the charging highlanders, the redcoats had gained possession of an enclosure, because Lord George had completely ignored the prince's command to take the enclosure. And this was the death of the Jacobite movement. Three minutes, Johnstone claims, was all the difference between total success and total failure. Although the centre were already into Cumberland's second rank, from the right muskets and small artillery pieces could now set up a murderous fire:

What a spectacle of horror! The same Highlanders, who had advanced to the charge like lions, were in an instant seen flying like trembling cowards in the greatest disorder.

Even in the thick of it, Johnstone takes cognisance of what is going on at command level. He, of course, does not blame Lord George but takes a metaphorical blunderbuss to the Prince and his entourage:

He saw that his orders were not executed yet he never quitted his place on the eminence. He ought to have displayed the courage of a grenadier by immediately advancing to put himself at the head of his army and commanding manoeuvres…There are occasions when a general ought to expose his person and not remain beyond the reach of musketry and show life or death equally indifferent to him. But he was surrounded by… confidants (Sheridan, Kelly, et al.), whose baseness of soul corresponded to the obscurity of their birth.

Johstone bore witness to the atrocities which followed the battle:

The Duke of Cumberland had the cruelty to allow our wounded to remain among the dead, stripped of their clothes, from Wednesday until Friday, when he sent detachments to kill all those who were still in life. He ordered a barn, which contained many of the wounded Highlanders, to be set on fire and the soldiers stationed round it drove back with fixed bayonets the unfortunate men who attempted to save themselves into the flames, burning them alive in this horrible manner, as if they had not been fellow creatures. This sanguinary Duke was obliged to have an act of indemnity from the British Parliament. Cruelty is a proof of a base and cowardly disposition.

Vatican interior showing monument to the last three members of the royal House of Stuart: James Francis Edward Stuart, his elder son Charles Edward Stuart, and his younger son, Henry Benedict Stuart

IACOBO · III
IACOBI · II · MAGNAE · BRIT · REGIS · FILIO
KAROLO · EDVARDO
ET · HENRICO · DECANO · PATRVM · CARDINALIVM
IACOBI · III · FILIIS
REGIAE · STIRPIS · STVARDIAE · POSTREMIS
ANNO · M · DCCC · XIX

30 years later the 50-something alcoholic wreck that was Charles Edward Casimir Silvester Maria Stuart, 'Spes Britanniae', back in Italy where the enterprise began, would play 'Lochaber No More' on the bagpipes and lapse into irreconcilable dolour at the thought of his highlanders.

Meanwhile back at Culloden, 20 paces in front of the march of advancing government line, Johnstone saw a horse being held by a man lying on the ground:

What was my surprise, when the cowardly poltroon, who was suffering from nothing but fear, dared to remain in the most horrible fire to dispute the horse with me… Grapeshot fell at our feet without producing any effect on this singular individual, who obstinately persisted in retaining the horse. Finlay Cameron, an officer of Lochiel's Regiment… threatened to blow his brains out if he hesitated a moment to let go the bridle. The fellow, who had the appearance of a servant, at length yielded and took to his heels.

Welcome to 18th-century Britain. Imagine a servant having the temerity to value his own life as much as a gentleman did.

Using the horse, Johnstone extricated himself from the melee. And while death and butchery lay all around him, he escaped to a life of highland luxury. He was fed, watered and slept in the houses of those connections of whom he never tires of telling us – Gordon of Park, Rothiemurchus, Lord and Lady Ogilvie, even a calvinist minister 'but a very respectable man'.

But the net was closing. Daily reports came of the arrest of one of the Jacobite leadership then another and this led Johnstone to filthy rags and tatters in Glen Prossen, in the rude cabin of Samuel, a retainer of the gentry.

Now which way would you have

gone? The Tay and the Forth rivers were guarded like prisons. His relative Rollo was now feathering his nest with the Hanoverians and would not help him. Every road was covered by patrols. Capture would bring having one's head struck from one's shoulders before an appreciative London mob. In what would you have put your trust? Well, Johstone put his in a dream. He dreamed so vividly that he was in the house of Lady Jane Douglas in Edinburgh that he was rigid with emotion for an hour after waking. And he got up and told Samuel he was going to Edinburgh. The first task would be to cross the Tay.

Contribution to Scottish literature

Johnstone may have won his Chevalier de Saint Louis for his services to the French army but he should also have received, for no reason he would ever have known, the Order of the Thistle for his services to Scottish literature.

Here is a synopsis of how he got across the Tay:

> *Johnstone arrived at an inn at Broughty Ferry. He engaged two boatmen to take him across the Tay. The boatmen were not keen, but such was Johnstone's silver tongue that he sweet-talked the two pretty lasses – Mary and Jane Burns – of the inn to take him across.*

140 years later, Robert Louis Stevenson used almost the same words and ploy to get his two fugitives from Campbell fury across the Forth at Limekilns, in *Kidnapped*, one of the piers supporting the Edinburgh bridge of literature from Scott through Doyle and Spark to Rowling.

We are lucky to have in James Johnstone a participant in the middle of a battle which had such enormous consequences not only for which dynasty ruled but also for the tiniest highland hamlet and its social system

Another literary first he scored is in the fictional volume of his three-volume *Memoirs – A Dialogue in Hades between the Marquis de Montcalm and General Wolfe*. Readers of the baby boomer generation will remember the unedifying spectacle in the 1960s of World War II commanders knocking spots off one another with their memoirs. Johnstone invented his own version of this. Both commanders, Wolfe and Montcalm, are dead and in some sort of undefined afterlife. A decidedly miffed Montcalm berates Wolfe and they go over the campaign. As a literary artefact, this writer cannot think of any parallel, in Scottish literature at least. Not bad for Johnstone, in an age when military officers were not noted for their literary susceptibilities.

But now we have crossed the Tay, we must press on to Edinburgh.

Discomfited in Prestonpans and Edinburgh

So where do you think Johnstone landed on the south side of the Forth? Why, precisely at Prestonpans. We are treated to gloomy thoughts of contrast with his last appearance there. Not for the last time does this field play a major part in his fortunes.

Into Leith, to the house of his old nurse, and then a meeting with his father who greeted his prodigal son without reproach. And where next? Remember the dream in Samuel's cabin? Of course everyone, including Johnstone, disparaged dreams as a guide to action. But next he went to the house of Lady Jane Douglas, somewhere near where Edinburgh's episcopalian cathedral now stands. And there he spent two months until word got in to the house that the authorities knew a rebel was in there. The house was actually searched from top to bottom while Johnstone spent a hot harvest day ensconced in a haycock in the field next door.

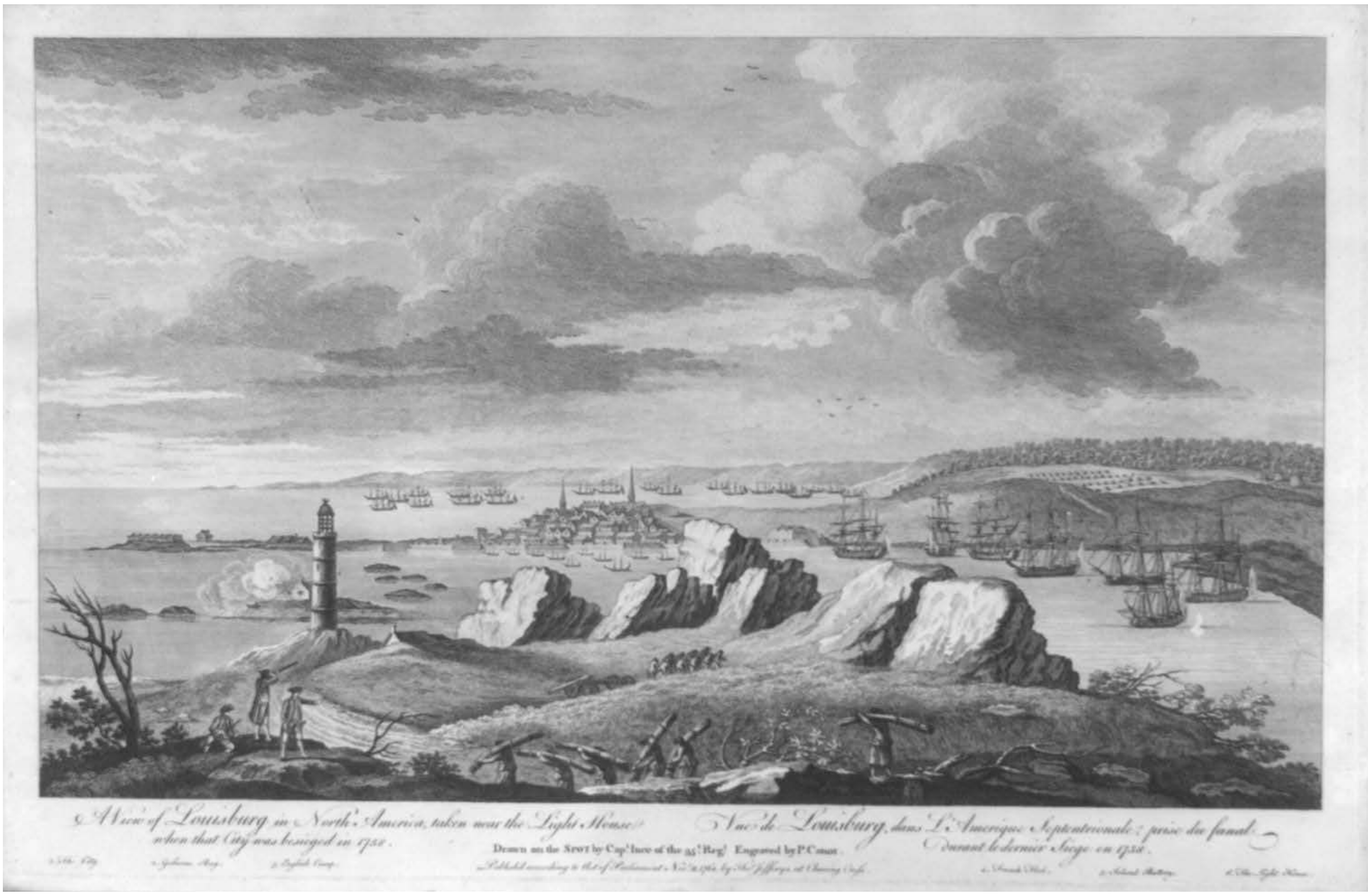
Things were also getting too hot metaphorically. So our hero took 'an eternal farewell' of his father and decided to set off for the continent *en route* to Russia, where influence would once more get him a commission.

The artful Lady Jane organised his escape route. A cover story: Johnstone was a haberdashery pedlar travelling to London to better his trade. The bulk of his samples had gone by sea but he carried a portmanteau of handkerchiefs and a fine waistcoat. He had a fine Scots horse. He had money. He would go straight down our A1, recuperate at

'Cutty Sarks'

Here, as a sidelight on Johnstone's character, we may view his continued entanglements with the fair sex. By his own confession, the waistcoat in the portmanteau was 'precious' because of a romantic attachment. His landlady in London was an old flame who welcomed him back with open arms and there was Peggy – even 'the certainty of death on the scaffold would not have prevented me from attempting to see her' – possibly the love of his life, to whom he proposed, – and a later *liaison dangereux* in French Canada. As long ago as 1958, Brian Rawson in the Folio Society edition of the *Memoirs*, speculated that Johnstone was already married before he left Edinburgh and he certainly had a son, also James. Peggy apart, Johnstone did not see love as a fixed star. The 'memoir' is peppered with his pieces of philosophy and here he is on love:

> *I had, indeed, been in love, but it was that easy kind of love which we lose without knowing how or why, when a short absence or the presence of another beauty dissolves the charm and soon makes us forget the fair one for whom we sigh.*


A View of Louisburg in North America, taken near the Light House when that City was besieged in 1758.
Vue de Louisbourg, dans L'Amerique Septentrionale, prise du fanal durant le dernier Siege en 1758.
Drawn on the Spot by Capt. Ince of the 35th Regt. Engraved by P. Canot

Louisborg, Nova Scotia, pictured *c.*1768. Johnstone was posted here after following Prince Charles Edward Stuart to Paris

London, then turn left to Harwich. What could possibly go wrong?

First night. Dinner. Sitting opposite him an old classmate who absent-mindedly called him 'Johnstone'. Gallop to Kelso. Would the false trail work? Another night. Dinner. He sold a handkerchief to a fellow diner for half the value. Another day. Passed a cartload of wounded English soldiers from Culloden. Another day. A highwayman. But eventually he reached London.

Not Culloden: The real cause of Jacobite failure

In London he met the good graces of his former landlady and was torn almost to death between his much-requited love for his 'adorable Peggy' (see panel on page 37) and certain death on the scaffold. His landlord invited him to watch the executions of lords Kilmarnock (erstwhile suzerain of modern Falkirk's Callendar Park house) and Balmerino and from Peggy's window he witnessed a tumbrel of his former comrades being taken to a lingering death.

Who were the rebels and who the loyalists? A successful 100-mile dash south from Derby and these traitors – including Johnstone, loyal rebel himself – could have entered London in triumph in a second Restoration.

Even more than that, a truth about the Jacobite movement was pointed out to him in the polite drawing room of Peggy's uncle. It had been there, and not on the field of Culloden, that the Jacobites had really lost their enterprise. In the hearts of Englishmen like Peggy's uncle, who had not really cared whether the king spoke broken English with a German accent or an Italian one. No-one, not even those who had promised to rise in support, when it came down to it, had cared enough to take part in another civil war. Not just as England was beginning to experience the peace and prosperity that would lead to the agricultural, and subsequently the industrial, revolutions.

The noose was drawing closer and any caprice (he jilted his former landlady) could have led to a denunciation. Johnstone decided to bolt for it to Holland and as luck would have it, Lady Jane Douglas reappeared. She was at Harwich and offered Johnstone employ in her entourage *en route* to Holland. He almost botched this but eventually got on the boat and landed at Helvoetsluys.

So now he was safe? So now the planned commission in the Russian army? Well no, not quite.

Et ego in Arcadia

Despite all his deprecations of Prince Charles, when he heard the prince was in Paris, it was in that direction Johnstone set his compass. The moth and the flame again. But the counsels of King Louis XV were set against another rising. So what to do for an unemployed officer? Enter M. de Poysieulx, who offered Johnstone an ensign's commission where he might directly strike at the redcoats – His Most Catholic Majesty's own 'Arcadie', or, simply, Canada. Thus Johnstone was involved in two attempts at French domination, the first of Europe and the second of the world, attempts which would not cease until 1815.

In particular, our hero was posted to Louisbourg, Nova Scotia, where began the most extraordinary sequence of events which in a romantic novel would raise derision.

Johnstone was not happy in Louisbourg. Promotion was slow (he actually became the oldest lieutenant in Canada) and – how unthinkable! – he was actually suspected by a local bigwig of having an affair with said bigwig's very pretty wife. Louisbourg fell to the British and Johnstone had the chagrin of making a swift exit lest he was captured by precisely the regiments – Lee's, Warburton's and Lascelles' – whose surrender the Jacobites had accepted at Prestonpans!

He set off with a party of 50 Frenchmen in a boat up the Saint Lawrence river and managed to slip past a British battle squadron. Further up the river, he encountered a French flotilla about to sail downriver and our hero informed them that if they did, they would meet perdition. For this action, his military fortunes now went into stellar mode. He made it to Montreal, where the Marshal de Levis (from Lorraine, not California) and Marshal de Montcalm were awaiting the onslaught of the British. He became ADC to de Levis, as much for his translation abilities among the British prisoners as anything. Owing to the lack of engineer officers, de Levis put him in charge of a section of the outer redoubt line, which he fortified in his own amateur way. So he was gratified to receive there the main British assault in which he claimed 500 redcoats died. Quite a turn-round from the field of Culloden!

And de Levis raised him to the rank of Chevalier! Chevalier de Montagne.

But there was further to rise. Johnstone was 'requisitioned' by the marquis de Montcalm as his ADC. Among other things, he was translator, in charge of British prisoners, etc., when the battle for the soul and control of Canada took place on the Heights of Abraham. And the French lost. And the marquis died. And once again de Johnstone was in as tight a spot as he had been in Glen Prossen with simple Samuel.

He was still an attainted Jacobite rebel. After all, would he end up with his neck on a traitor's block? Would the supreme being he so often acknowledges step in? Judge for yourself. Certainly one not-so-humble human being stepped in. Remember de Johnstone's remit from Montcalm? The British prisoners? And among them was a Colonel Young. And Colonel Young was a relative of Lord Rollo. Yes, our hero's sister's husband, from whose house we will remember the youthful rebel in Perth departing for Prince Charlie's camp.

While death and butchery lay all around him, Johnstone escaped to a life of highland luxury

With the desperation of a condemned man, de Johnstone now revealed all to Colonel Young.

Crucially, by now the French had signed the articles of surrender. Colonel Young became Johnstone's warm advocate and recommended he front up with *another* Murray – Brigadier Murray, again a scion of the Scottish aristocracy and in the not-too-distant future governor of Canada.

After an agonising two-hour wait, Murray's decision arrives. He sends his compliments. No problem. He had in fact realised for some time who 'Monsieur Montagne' was! He would get the repatriation entitlement of a surrendered French officer.

In the meantime, 'Monsieur Montagne' was to disport himself among the young English officers, each one '*avec sa Maitresse*'. And M. Montagne did just that, being at home among his own social class, and one even asked how he came to speak such good English!

Johnstone then ended his sojourn in Canada by being sent home on an old English transport so leaky that it began to split in two until a gallant tar leapt into the foaming main and 'warped' the ship by swimming under it with a cable and cloth while the carpenters inside repaired the damage.

La belle France

So now back to France and the rest of his life. He was upgraded to Chevalier de Saint Louis, a near-noble rank. He was given a pension of 300 livres in 1761, something he constantly complained about. He must have kept his nose remarkably clean during the revolution, because in 1790 he obtained from the assembly an increase – 1,485 livres plus a bonus of 500 in 1791. He wrote his memoirs in three volumes – the Jacobite period, memories of Canada (in French) and the remarkable discourse between the spirits of the defunct Marquis de Montcalm and General Wolfe.

At the end, he led a somewhat parallel life to two different manifestations of the same character. Prestonpans, that recurring nemesis in Johnstone's life, linked him and the real Alan Stewart, who ended up a hapless recluse who could never go home. And his own adventures, transmuted by Robert Louis Stevenson, gave him an immortality in the figure of the fictional Alan Breck Stewart, an immortal link with the '45, which I am sure would have greatly gratified him.

Denis Frize is a graduate of Glasgow and Strathclyde Universities. He is an active member of The Robert Louis Stevenson Club and the Orwell Society, has published a number of articles and is a popular speaker on cultural subjects.

FURTHER READING

A Memoir of the '45 ed. C. Winchester (Aberdeen, 1880), James Johnstone

A Dialogue in Hades between the Marquis de Montcalm and General Wolfe (Quebec, 1887), James Johnstone

Memoires de M. le Chevalier de Johnstone (Quebec, 1915), James Johnstone

10 MINUTES ON

…THE WOLF OF BADENOCH

History Scotland's consultant editor, **Dr Allan Kennedy**, looks into the life and legend of Alexander Stewart, the infamous 'wolf of Badenoch', whose activities in the late 14th century earned him an enduringly black reputation

When Robert II came to the throne as Scotland's first Stewart king in 1371, he had a problem. Unusually for a Scottish monarch, he had many sons, and he needed to provide for them. He did so by handing out lands and titles, including to his third son, Alexander, who was given the highland lordships of Badenoch and Lochindorb. Doubtless Robert hoped that his son, at the time probably in his mid-20s, would prove a force for stability and a bastion of royal authority in the disorderly north. If so, the king was to be disappointed, for Alexander Stewart, later nicknamed 'the wolf of Badenoch', would go on to become one of the most notorious figures of the entire middle ages.

Throughout the 1370s and 1380s, Alexander consolidated his power in the highlands. His most significant move was to marry Euphemia Ross, heir to the vastly powerful earldom of Ross, in 1382. This match gave Alexander control of a huge swathe of land stretching from the Cromarty Firth to Torridon, making him one of the greatest landholders in Scotland, although he did not inherit the title 'earl of Ross' (he was soon made earl of Buchan instead).

But while Alexander's career seemed to be going from strength to strength, complaints began to emerge about the nature of his lordship. As well as general grumblings that he was failing to maintain law-and-order, Alexander was accused of using Gaelic warrior-bands known as caterans to attack local rivals, and also to extort protection money. The very public failure of his marriage – to the extent that he was even accused of raiding various lands owned by Euphemia and her relatives – contributed to the general sense of disquiet. But Alexander could live with this because he retained the support of the king, and so long as Robert II was in control, Alexander was safe.

The first sign of trouble was a coup against King Robert in 1384, after which the heir to the throne, John, earl of Carrick, took over the government. Alexander was exposed, although fortunately for him, Carrick was distracted by war with England. But another coup in 1388 replaced Carrick with the king's second son, Robert, earl of Fife, and he proved far more determined to deal with his wayward sibling in the north. After two years of pressure, ranging from shows of military strength to forcing Alexander to submit to his wife, Fife's campaign provoked a spectacular reaction. With a band of 'wyld wykkyd Heland-men', Alexander attacked Elgin, the seat of one of his chief local rivals, the bishop of Moray, in June 1390, burning down the magnificent cathedral. This was the action, more than any other, that earned Alexander his sobriquet, 'the wolf of Badenoch', but it proved disastrous. Galvanised by the wolf's sacrilege, the campaign against him only intensified. He was forced to beg for absolution; stripped of most of his lands and offices, including the huge earldom of Ross; and made to suffer the indignity of having his marriage to Euphemia annulled by the pope.

After this, the wolf's prominence in public life faded. He seems to have shifted his attentions more towards the southern highlands, for example popping up as baille of Atholl around 1402. But by the time he died in 1405 (being buried at Dunkeld cathedral), Alexander was a much diminished figure, and already more or less one of the past. There was, however, an important *coda* to his story, since his illegitimate son, Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, ultimately succeeded him as the government's main agent in the highlands. But while Mar, who died in 1435, eventually carved out a reputation as a tough and effective ruler, the wolf himself would forever be remembered as both a cause and a symptom of the disorder blighting the early decades of Stewart rule in Scotland.

The magnificent ruins of Elgin cathedral. The building was torched by Alexander in June 1390

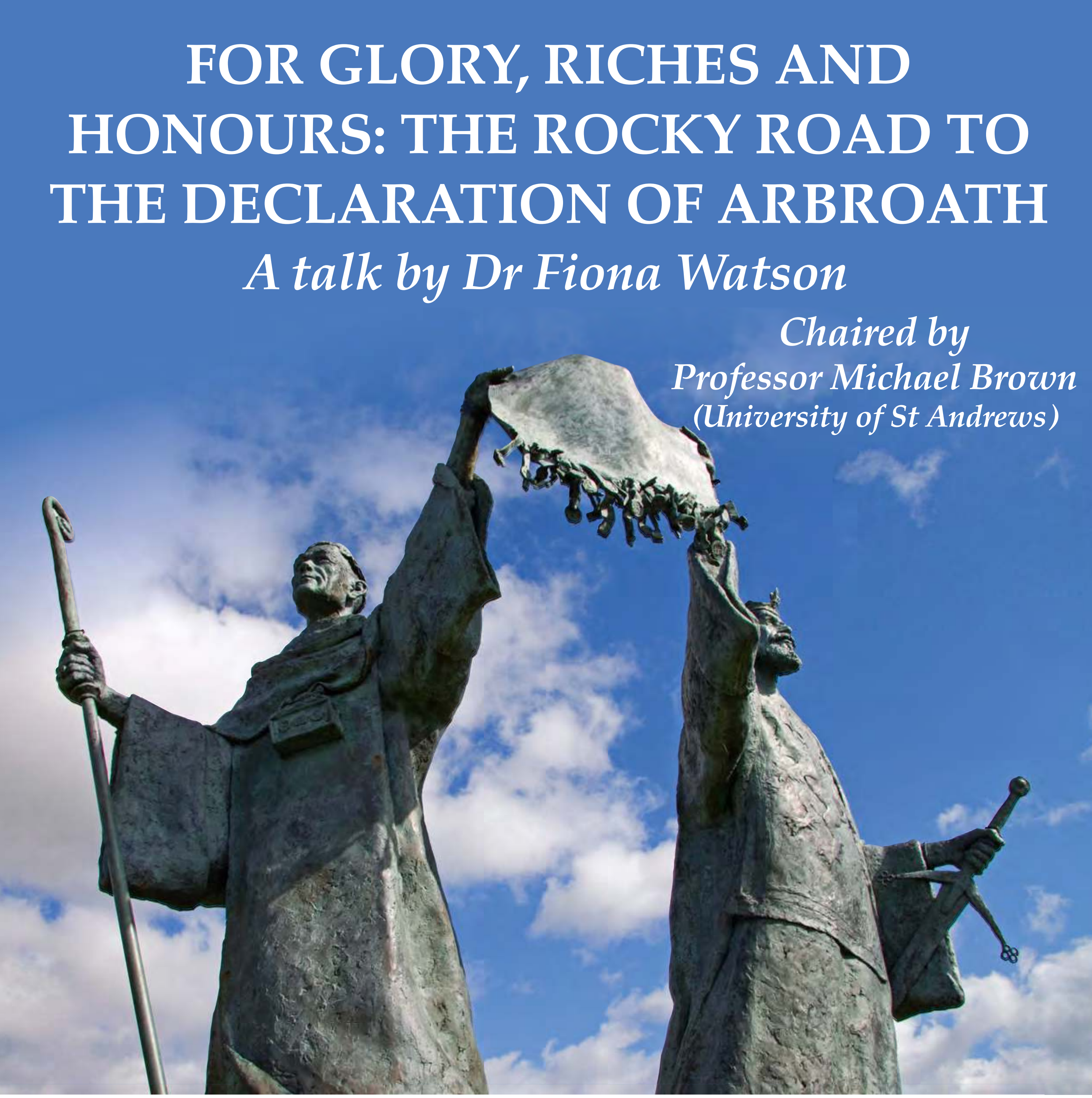
FURTHER READING

The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406 (Edinburgh, 1996), S. Boardman

FOR GLORY, RICHES AND HONOURS: THE ROCKY ROAD TO THE DECLARATION OF ARBROATH

A talk by Dr Fiona Watson

Chaired by
Professor Michael Brown
(University of St Andrews)



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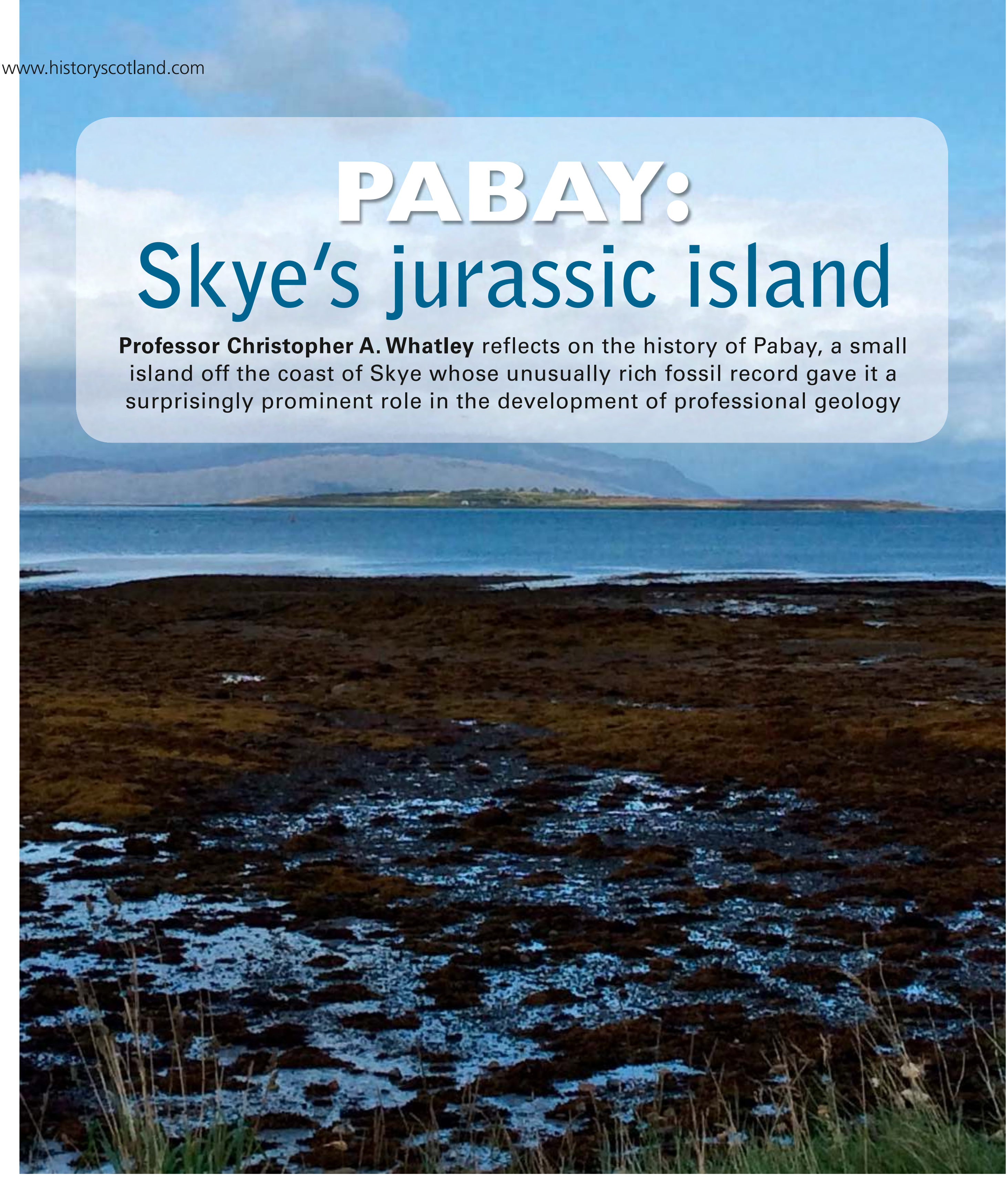
PABAY:
Skye's jurassic island

Professor Christopher A. Whatley reflects on the history of Pabay, a small island off the coast of Skye whose unusually rich fossil record gave it a surprisingly prominent role in the development of professional geology



The island of Pabay, a field geologists' utopia

Not much less than a century ago, in December 1925, *The Scotsman* published a short article written by a popular travel writer of the day, the Edinburgh-based church of Scotland minister the Reverend Thomas Ratcliffe Barnet. With memories of the devastation wreaked by the First World War still fresh in the minds of readers who were also enduring a dreary winter, Ratcliffe Barnet's aim was to evoke better times, and he thanked God for the 'miracle of imagining which can dissolve a winter fog in a blaze of summer sunshine'. The mental 'pilgrimage' on which he took his readers was north-westward to Skye, the island that 'has a story to tell… those who love her which no other Hebrid isle can tell'.

Some sixteen months later, Ratcliffe Barnett followed up his paean of praise for Skye by writing about a diminutive island that lies offshore in the south eastern corner of *An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* (Skye's Gaelic name). This was Pabay, sometimes spelled Pabbay or Pabba, a 'flat circle of sheepgrass' just over a mile across, three miles in circumference. Pabay lies low across Broadford bay – that is, between the Cuillins to the west and, north-eastwards over the Inner Sound, the mountainous Applecross peninsula.

Pabay may at first sight and from a distance have been unprepossessing. However, having the previous summer tantalised Ratcliffe Barnett before he managed to get over and spend a day there, he was moved to describe sun-kissed Pabay as 'an Island of Revelations'. Why? Firstly, Pabay (as the derivation of the name hints – *papar* translates as priest island), was believed to have been home at one time to an early christian community, evangelists who had broadcast the 'simple news of Christ in an age of dark deeds and pagan superstitions'. Secondly, and more pertinent here, by the early 20th century Pabay had also become a field geologists' utopia, its place as such secured by the early Victorian Cromarty stonemason and pioneer geologist Hugh Miller who, as we will see, had extolled Pabay's virtues as a bountiful source of fossils. With these, the 'Man with the Hammer' according to Ratcliffe Barnett, had 'shed fresh wonder on the creation of the world'. Yet even prior to Miller's visit, the island had already begun to attract the attention of some of the country's leading geologists and mineralogists. It would continue to do so long afterwards too.

I know Pabay well and, like Ratcliffe Barnett, have often been spellbound. My late uncle and aunt tried to make a living there during the 1950s and 1960s. From the age of three I was on Pabay for part of virtually every year until my late teens when, owing to ill-health, my uncle Len was forced to sell. At the time none of us knew anything about Ratcliffe Barnett, although as we'll see, my uncle was well aware of Miller's enthusiasm for Pabay's rocks.

Pabay's place on the map

Skye's importance for geologists, mineralogists and palaeontologists is now well-established. So too have become its credentials as one of Britain's principal Jurassic zones, its reputation in this regard enhanced by the discoveries, the first of which was made in 1982, of dinosaur footprints and bones. 'Dinosaur island' is one appellation now accorded to Skye, testimony to the island's importance worldwide as a record of the middle Jurassic era, some 170 million years ago.

But what part in this did Pabay play? We have noticed already its restricted dimensions. Rising to only 27 metres at its highest point (less than half the height of Edinburgh's Scott monument), it is dwarfed to the west by the steep slopes of Beinn na Caillich, the 732-metre high 'Red' Cuillin that rises immediately behind the village of Broadford and the other townships that line the coastal strip on mainland Skye opposite Pabay. To the west is the hillier, bulkier island of Scalpay and, further north and better-known, Raasay, with its distinctive flat-topped 443-metre-high peak of Dun Caan. Pabay hardly appears on maps until the 17th century, and when it did thereafter it was less the island itself to which cartographers drew attention but instead the treacherous rocks that surrounded much of it. For 18th- and early 19th-century mariners who used sea charts, Pabay was a place to steer clear of, rather than set foot upon.

Occasionally, intrepid visitors from the south who began to include Skye as part of their itineraries did note Pabay's presence. The Welsh traveller, topographer and naturalist Thomas Pennant was one of these. On a tour of the highlands and islands in 1772 he sailed past Pabay on a passage from Kyle, describing it as a 'low verdant isle, in old times the seat of assassins.' This was a reference to Donald Munro's mid-16th-century comment that

The author with his aunt, uncle and cousins on a boat leaving Pabay *c.*1953

while Pabay was good for fishing it was also wooded and a 'main shelter' for 'thieves to await on leill mennis geir, pertaining to Mckynvin [clan Mackinnon]'.

Most travellers though ignored it. James Boswell and Dr Samuel Johnson made no reference to Pabay, even though after their stay in September 1773 with Lachlan Mackinnon's household at Coirechatachan above Broadford they embarked on a boat in which they were rowed through Caolas Scalpay (from where Pabay is visible) en route for Raasay. Those venturing to Skye at this time were in search of locations they hoped would resonate with James Macpherson's forged Ossianic verse, and the frisson of raw, barren, imposing scenery that fulfilled their need to feel a kind of sublime terror. It was the 'naked rocks and towering cliffs' of the 'black' Cuillin range (as opposed to the more rounded red Cuillin hills) and the desolate, hard to access Loch Coruisk that drew the more courageous visitors. Nearby (and more easily reached by the 'admirer of the picturesque') was the stalactite-encrusted Spar Cave, 'one of the greatest wonders in the Highlands'. Even as the effects of the relentless sequence of potato crop failures from 1846 continued to ravage the local population, the route to the cave was 'continually walked for six months of the year by the Publick and all Strangers from England and all parts of Europe'.

Vikings may have valued Pabay as a useful source of food supplies - and possibly timber - on their voyages south

Pancake-like, green and fertile looking during the spring and summer, and reminiscent for some viewers of parts of England, Pabay had little to offer those in search of a dramatic landscape.

Other than the parties of maritime marauders who had sallied out from Pabay, it is doubtful if many people had ever lived on the island. The very first human beings to set foot there – in Mesolithic times – would have been peripatetic, seasonal visitors in search of Pabay's hazelnuts, fish and the crustaceans found along its rocky shores. Some centuries later there was almost certainly a religious community of some sort, and the Vikings may have valued Pabay as a useful source of food supplies – and possibly timber – on their voyages south through the Inner Sound, the Kyle narrows and thence to the Isle of Man, Ireland and England's southwest.

From at least as far back as the 16th century it was best known locally as a place for grazing and fattening black cattle. Martin Martin reported that it 'excels in pasturage', so much so that the milk yield of cows there was double that on Skye. In this guise it was an appendage of two adjacent farms on mainland Skye, Corry and Breakish. During the final decades of the 17th century Pabay was used precisely for this purpose by the then tenant of Breakish farm, *Lachlan Mac Thearlaich* (Lachlan Mackinnon), the renowned 'Skye Bard'. The island did become more heavily inhabited in the early 19th century. Between 1801 and 1841 the population of Strath parish, in which Pabay was situated, increased

The Lias – the shale/ mudstone strata that so excited the early geologists, as where they crop out on Pabay they are fossil-rich

Outer whorl, ammonite, Pabay (Item GE 11800, Museums Collections Unit, courtesy of the University of St Andrews

by a substantial 80 per cent, to 3,150 souls. The rise was largely accounted for by the ubiquitous potato cultivated on patches of ever-diminishing croft land which fed growing numbers of mouths, and the opportunities there were for casual employment in fishing and kelp manufacture – until the later 1820s at least. By 1841 there were four families living on Pabay – all headed by an agricultural labourer. With 21 people, this was the island's population peak; just twenty years later there was just one small family of six left, headed by Charles Mackinnon, who managed the cattle from nearby Corrie farm that were grazed there. Two decades later Pabay had become a live larder for the household of Lord Macdonald at Armadale castle, providing animals of various kinds – primarily sheep and cattle – for the dinner table.

Skye and the pioneer geologists

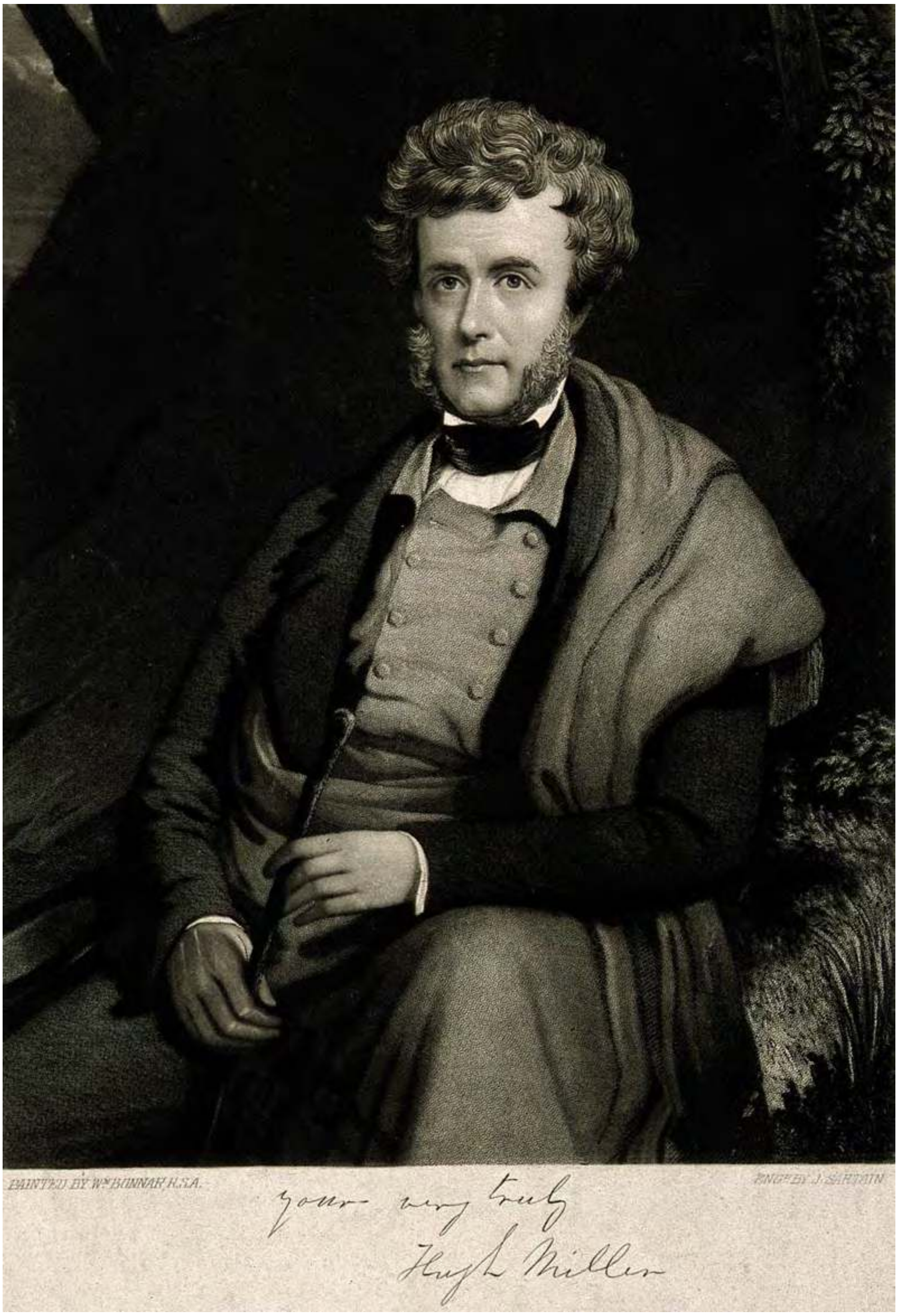
The turning point as far as outsiders' interest in Pabay was concerned had come at the end of the 18th century. During the later stages of the enlightenment in Scotland the discipline of geology was still in its infancy. Initially it was a gentlemanly pursuit, although there was also a powerful practical dimension; the engagement of several of the pioneers in the subject had been sparked by their involvement in agriculture, mining, drainage and other civil engineering projects. In turn it was professionals in areas such as these who were amongst the first students of geology as it became part of the university curriculum.

Intensely debated amongst this emergent scientific community were the nature and origins of the earth's crust. Initially the lead was taken by Poland-born Abraham Werner (1749-1817). The essence of Werner's thesis was that the earth had once been enveloped by a vast ocean, with all the rocks that comprised the earth's surface being 'either precipitates or sediments from that ocean', as it had slowly receded. The major challenge to Werner's theory came from the Scot James Hutton (1726-1797), whose *magnum opus*, the *Theory of the Earth*, was published in 1795. Hutton's counter thesis, a school of thought which only slowly gained acceptance, was that the surface of the earth was continuously undergoing processes of erosion and recreation, with heat from far below the surface creating uplift in the form of molten rock which formed the granite veins he observed, most famously at Glen Tilt in Perthshire. The earth as we witness it was built from the debris of a former world, he argued, which we cannot know. As he famously concluded, he could find 'no vestige of a beginning – no prospect of an end'.

Regardless of school, critical too was the greater weight that was attached to fieldwork instead of, or at least to support, inspired speculation. The use of rock samples as a means of classification early on became a key component of geology teaching at universities such as Edinburgh. Hutton was a great collector of stones, his searches for which involved endless days of riding on horseback ('Lord pity the arse that's clagged to a head that will hunt stones', he once wrote), as was Robert Jameson (1774-1854), professor of natural history at the University of Edinburgh from 1804, and an active disciple of Werner.

Indeed, although he had yet to be appointed to a chair, Jameson

The author's uncle, aunt and his three young cousins pictured *c.*1951



Hugh Miller, the Cromarty-born geologist who left a vivid description of Pabay's trap dykes

was probably the first geologist of any renown to visit Skye. This was a more taxing journey in 1798 both in terms of distance and, once there, travelling and working conditions, than the island of Arran in the firth of Clyde which he, Hutton and others had already investigated. In many respects Skye was virgin territory. But it promised much. Archibald Geikie (1835-1924), who in due course was to become Britain's most distinguished geologist, described Skye in 1853 as 'as rich a field for the [geological] investigator as is to be met with in any spot of equal compass in Britain'.

But it was not easily explored. Sizeable parts of the island were inaccessible. Other than around the island's small capital town of Portree, and the stretch between Broadford and Kyleakin (which was rocky, precipitous and interrupted by torrents of water), roads were either non-existent or ill-formed. Essentially, they were tracks, most of which were known only to locals.

More than once during July and August 1798, Jameson and his travelling companion Charles Bell found themselves held up as they were unable to find guides who would take them into the Cuillins, or over bogs and across rocky shorelines as they made their way around the island (that the female goatherd who they'd been promised as a guide was reputed to be 'a great beauty' compounded their disappointment). Nor was anyone willing to carry the two men's baggage for them. With four-wheeled carriages having not yet reached Skye (they would hardly have been any use anyway), they needed either the aid of strong men or someone with a horse. And even then, boggy or 'soft' sections made it impossible to progress without dismounting. Progress was slow and cumbersome.

It would be some time yet before a reliable map of Skye's geography became available, including basic data like distances, heights and local names of places. From a geological perspective also, Skye was something of a venture into the unknown, although the Welshman Thomas Pennant in publications based on his peregrinations in the highlands and Hebrides in the late 1760s and early 1770s had included descriptions of several notable geological features.

Given the difficulty for investigators of gaining access overland to the places they wanted to see, it comes as no surprise to find it remarked even in the early 1820s, that on Skye boats were 'the stage coaches and post-chaises of the country; inconvenient when we can command the weather, but forming a most detestable species of general communication in such a stormy, rainy, uncertain climate'. The alternative were long and often arduous walks which, to their credit, the first geologists undertook despite the discomforts including the debilitating exhaustion and physical injury these incurred. On 19 July 1798 Professor Jameson and his companion endured a trek lasting nine hours in 'continuous rains & wind thru' mosses & muir' from Eynort along the shore of Loch Bracadale and over to Dunvegan. Whilst the sheer, high cliffs of the basaltic islands out to sea impressed the two men, their destination disappointed: Dunvegan castle they thought was a 'paltry looking object', 'destitute of wood', and set amongst 'heathy, ill looking hills'. Days were spent waiting for the worst of the rain to stop, and hours lost sheltering from it when they were caught out.

Professor James D. Forbes, the University of Edinburgh glaciologist, found his patience similarly tested at the start of July 1836. Not long after his arrival he tetchily informed his sister that Skye was 'the very nurse of rain', a conclusion he had reached after spending the first two days of his stay trapped by ceaseless rainfall in the inn at Broadford. Although he wryly conceded that he was 'gradually being initiated into the mysteries of being soaked five times a day', he had 'not yet got reconciled to be continuously wet & to sit wet as the denizens of this happy county are'; if the weather didn't improve, he would be 'disgusted & turn tail'.

But at least Forbes had found somewhere reasonably comfortable to stay; accommodation was scarce, and invariably of a poor standard. After visiting Skye in 1802 the fearless traveller Mrs Sarah Murray from Kensington in London advised her readers to avoid Sconser inn 'if you can, for it is most shockingly kept'. Broadford's single building of note was the inn, but 'a very bad one' (although she was informed subsequently that it had been repaired); Kyleakin's was 'very ill kept' and little more than a whisky house. At Sligachan, 'tolerably' good food and drink were to be had, but, in Murray's opinion, the 'hut of an inn' was 'too bad to sleep in'. Consequently, pioneer investigators preferred to rely on introductions made in advance which enabled them to lodge with the families of the island's factors or the few professional men such as ministers. Even this however was no guarantee of a congenial stay: Jameson and Bell decided to hasten their leave-taking from Armadale in the south of Skye in mid-August 1798 having found their would-be host there, a Mr Macpherson, to be a 'stiff, pompous, [and] odd species of Minister'.

It was however another field observer, Guernsey-born John MacCulloch (1773-1835), who not only quite literally put Skye on the geological map, but also drew attention to Pabay. (MacCulloch was also the first geologist to highlight the 'torment of this country, the mosquito of the Highlands', the midge, the 'ignominious' sound of which could cause alarm for all but the hardiest researcher, as he or she laboriously chipped away at Skye's rocks). MacCulloch, who had been an army surgeon before becoming an ordnance chemist, had begun his investigations with a much narrower aim in mind. His mission was to search for suitable grindstones for the board of ordnance's two gunpowder mills. Those currently in use were worn and disintegrating and urgently in need of replacement. Stone chips entering the powder and causing sparks was a recipe for disaster. With the war with the French emperor and military leader Napoleon Bonaparte raging, new stones were a national military priority. However, the former source of non-siliceous durable limestone, Namur in France, was cut off.

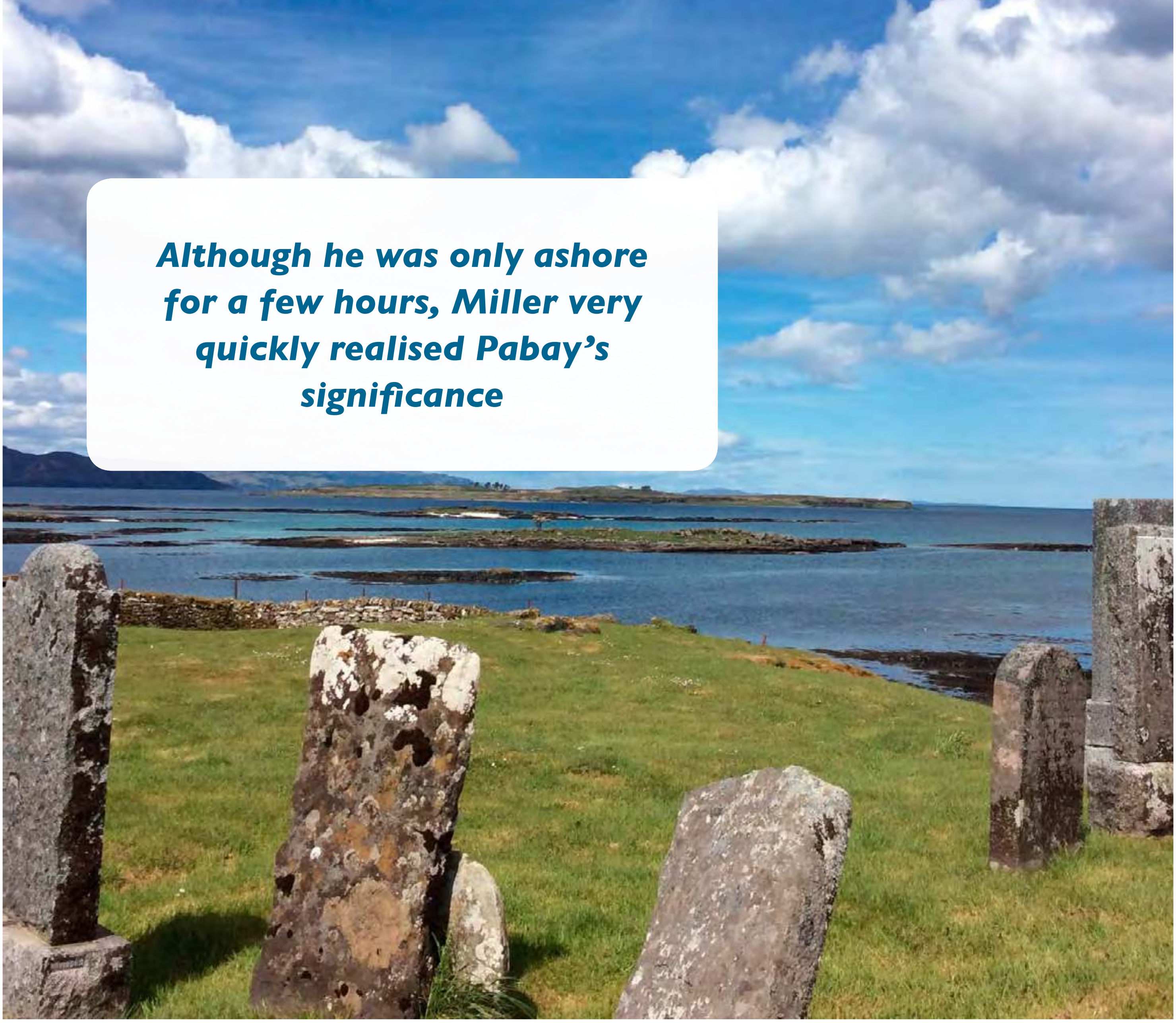
MacCulloch's nationwide quest, begun in 1809, had taken him to Skye in the late summer of 1812, where he thought he had found what he wanted, in Strath. This was the 'vast strata of fine white marble' that Thomas Pennant had seen on his visit to Skye in 1772, which he believed had been used for the altar in Iona abbey. Nevertheless, for a variety of reasons, including the failure of the board's contractor Richard Elliott to find blocks of sufficiently flaw-free limestone large enough for the seven-foot-wide grindstones required for the gunpowder mills, and the end of hostilities with France, the quarries, on Lord Macdonald's estate were, for a while at least, abandoned.

By this time, however, MacCulloch had conceived a plan for a geological and mineralogical map of Scotland. For the next seven years he devoted some five months annually to the project, funded by the board of ordnance. This was sufficient to allow him to describe in some detail Skye's main geological features and by 1817 he had produced an engraved map of the island. Shortly afterwards, in 1819, he completed, and had published, his seminal *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*.

Pabay discovered

It was in this publication that Pabay made its first appearance as a place worthy of attention. MacCulloch, however, was hardly enthusiastic, concluding that by and large the rocks on Pabay – much of which was 'micaceous shale' – were similar to those at Broadford, two miles distant, on the mainland of Skye. That Pabay was 'skirted all round by long ledges of rock' made landing on the island difficult. On the other hand, MacCulloch did concede Pabay's usefulness 'in connecting the several portions of rock which are found in the neighbouring islands and on the adjacent mainland'. He also drew attention to the numerous and 'particularly conspicuous' trap veins, or dykes, amongst the 'shale that enclose them'.

It was in 'Description of the Western Isles of Scotland' that Pabay made its first appearance as a place worthy of attention



Although he was only ashore for a few hours, Miller very quickly realised Pabay's significance

Low lying Pabay, from a graveyard, Ashaig, Skye

The largest of these dolerite and basalt incursions, which sometimes look as if they could be man-made, stands some four metres tall at its highest point. Keen to see natural wonders of this order, other geologists followed in MacCulloch's wake. The first of them was the Scots-born former soldier and gentleman-scientist Roderick Impey Murchison (1792-1871), who was destined for national fame (and a knighthood, in 1863). The 'Dykes raise to a great height', he scribbled in his otherwise illegible hand in his notebook in 1827 when, in the company of another geologist, Adam Sedgwick, he had spent time exploring Pabay. Standing 'quite above the Cliff', one of the dykes, according to Murchison, 'has the appearance of a ruin'.

But it is the autodidact, ardent christian, founding father of the free church (but no literalist interpreter of the Bible), and amateur geologist Hugh Miller (1802-56), who has left the most vivid description of Pabay's trap dykes (along with a hint as to why they would be of importance to aspiring geologists). They were, he wrote, 'beyond comparison finer than those of the water of Leith, which first suggested to Hutton his theory', and 'stand up like fences over the sedimentary strata, or run like moles far into the sea'.

Nevertheless, impressive as Pabay's trap dykes were, it was the island's fossils that attracted Miller's attention. Notwithstanding Jameson's, MacCulloch's, Murchison's and Sedgwick's awareness of these (Skye ammonites from the latter duo's expedition – many collected by Murchison's wife Charlotte – had been studied and described by the English mineralogist James Sowerby in 1827), it was the plaid-wearing stonemason who was the most eloquent promoter of the 'fossil-mottled' island as a geologist's paradise.

Miller had landed on Pabay in late July 1844. This was during a cruise in the Hebrides with his minister companion John Swanson. Swanson had recently been appointed to the Small Isles parish that comprised the islands of Rum, Eigg, Canna and Muck. The duo's vessel, the *Betsey*, a small yacht that required only a single crewman, had been bought by the free church so that Swanson could get around the four islands to preach; after the disruption in 1843 that had divided the established kirk rebel ministers were barred from using church of Scotland premises. It was from this vessel that Miller disembarked on Pabay, the great trap dyke to the west of the island serving as a make-do pier for the *Betsey*'s dinghy.

Although he was only ashore for a few hours, Miller very quickly realised Pabay's significance. A happy geologist, he enthused, would be one who, 'with a few thousands to spare, could call Pabba his own'. The 'petrifications' of its shores would fill a museum:

> *They rise by thousands and tens of thousands on the exposed places of its sea-washed strata, standing out in bold relief, like sculpturings on ancient tombstones, at once mummies and monuments, - the dead, and the carved memorials of the dead. Every rock is a tablet of hieroglyphics, with an ascertained alphabet; every rolled pebble a casket, with old pictorial records locked up within.*

When I was a boy, playing with my cousin Stuart, we would pocket masses of these fossils, aware that they were old, very old, but knowing little more than that. In fact, there was a particular kind of fossil we prized, that looked not unlike a long bullet, similar to a thick pencil in diameter, a few inches in length, with a sharp point at one end.

Miller's excitement about and the interest of other Victorian era geologists in Pabay and its vicinity are to be accounted for by the attention that was being paid at the time to the Lias.

The Lias is a sequence of rock strata consisting of marine limestones, sandstones, shales, mudstones and clays that are found in large parts of western Europe, including the British Isles. In Scotland, the Lias is concentrated in the sea of the Hebrides basin. The significance of the Lias was that it denoted a period – the early jurassic (which began roughly 205 million years ago) – the secrets of which in the early-to-mid 19th century were just beginning to be uncovered in Scotland. It was one of the substances that had drawn Hugh Miller to Skye (and Mull). Its 'oozy sea-floor' which 'grew heavy and sank, and on which the belemnite dropped its spindle and the ammonite its shell' imparted to him the idea of 'old Scotland… a land whose hills and islands, like its great aristocratic families, have risen from the level in… various ages, and under the operation of circumstances essentially diverse'.

And it was along Skye's east coast and at Strathaird that, in Miller's words, was to be found 'the most largely-developed deposit of this formation in Scotland'. Much of it, however, was covered by peat, so that other than along the sides of the channels cut by mountain streams the sought-for strata are difficult to access. The exception was the Broadford Bay district. And where the Lias was most evident was in the Ob Lusa-Ardnish area, on the eastern edge of the bay. Here, 'from its lower to it upper beds' it was exposed 'in [an] unbroken

Great trap dyke, Pabay

series along the beach'. But while these contained ancient coral beds and sediments from former lagoons, ammonites were rare.

Out to sea, though, just over a mile distant, was Pabay, which was 'entirely composed' of the Lias formation, primarily the upper levels. Such occurences elsewhere in the Hebrides basin were rare; most of the triassic and jurassic rocks are below the surface of the sea. What is more, Pabay's remarkable fossiliferous deposits were found in mudstone around 100 feet thick (although in places on Raasay, as at Hallaig, the same distinctive shale sequence is six times that, and is likely to be where Robert Jameson found what amounted to a box of fossils – one genus of which was later termed *Ammonites Jamesoni* – which he sent by sea to Edinburgh for closer examination at the university on his return, in 1798). Such was the importance and distinctiveness of the island's silty and micaceous shales that they were accorded their own classification: Pabba Shale, which is now listed by the British Geological Survey as the Pabay Shale Formation.

It wasn't long before others were persuaded to follow Miller's lead. In 1853, prompted by Miller, seventeen-year-old Archibald Geikie spent several days on Pabay, collecting large quantities of ammonites, belemnites and remains of other fauna. He slept in the aforementioned Charles Mackinnon and his wife's draughty barn, after evenings in the company of the couple who watched bemused as he examined the 'stones' he'd collected that day – to no apparent purpose. (I realise now that our 'bullets' were actually belemnites, the ossified remains of the tails (or rostrums) of squid- or cuttlefish-like creatures that once inhabited the warmer tropical waters that many millennia earlier shallowly covered Pabay).

These, as with the few specimens Miller had collected, were studied, named and exhibited and discussed at learned meetings in Edinburgh, London and elsewhere before being added to the inventories of local and national museums. And, like Miller, Geikie wrote about and published in what were enormously popular books his findings, further enhancing Pabay's reputation and unique status as what in effect was Skye's Jurassic island. Indeed after closely studying its rocks, Geikie concluded that Pabay represented the 'most interesting square mile among the western islands'. As with Miller he found it difficult to contain his elation not only at the 'prodigious numbers' of fossils but also their 'excellent state of preservation': 'the palaeontologist could not wish for a finer display of fossil forms than that shown by these beds', he recorded with obvious delight.

Geikie was familiar with the fish and reptile fossils found from the carboniferous period in the south of Scotland and had seen shells and corals found in mountain limestone. Yet here, on Pabay, he enthused, 'were organisms of another stamp', relics of 'another creation' that he had been privileged to witness. And even to smell. So 'richly charged' were some of the beds with organic remains that they emitted 'a strong fetid odour when rubbed or broken'.

Such revelations – both visual and olfactory – were further proof of the contemporary view that the earth's history comprised a series of catastrophic events and creations that in due course, had made a habitat suitable for human life. For Geikie, the fossil record supported an evolutionist interpretation of the earth's history, which, conveniently, validated his contemporaries' faith in the progress of civilization. Such scientific findings demonstrated cumulatively in the decades following James Hutton's revelations, the sheer immensity of geological time.

For 18th- and 19th-century mariners who used sea charts, Pabay was a place to steer clear of, rather than set foot upon

The fossil record revealed

By studying fossil types, from William Smith (1769-1839) the 'father of English geology' onwards, geologists were able to order rock sequences chronologically. In this way literalist interpretations of the creation were further challenged. Under assault was the widely held belief of many christians in the date that the 17th-century cleric James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh had determined as the day of creation: Sunday 23 October 4004 BC. Not everything had happened at once.

Pabay of course played only a minor role in this unfolding narrative. Yet such was the store of visible and relatively easily accessible geological treasure to be found on this hitherto largely anonymous inner Hebridean island that it became a magnet for those geologists who followed in the footsteps of MacCulloch, Murchison, Miller and Geikie. In subsequent years the roll call of renowned geologists who ventured to or referenced Pabay lengthened to include men such as the Irishman James Bryce (1806-77), Professor John W. Judd (1840-1916), Alfred Harker (1859-1939) and, following renewed interest in the Hebridean jurassic from the 1950s, a host of others that has carried on through to the present. By 1922, over 30 ammonite species alone had been identified in the shales that crop out on Pabay's northern shores and cliffs.

Aware of the potential there was to fill empty beds by accommodating parties of college and university students and their lecturers who were on field trips that might include Pabay, in the 1950s my aunt Margaret's brother Harry, who was in the process of establishing the Dunnollie hotel in Broadford, seized upon this new-found opportunity. In a shrewd marketing move he targeted the appropriate institutions by advertising special early season rates. On Pabay itself, my uncle and aunt offered such visitors hospitality in the form of teas, coffee and home-baked scones – and fresh eggs, in return for much-needed cash. A few years later they capitalised further on Pabay's reputation as a fossil hunter's paradise by advertising the holiday accommodation they had recently opened up, partly on the basis of this appeal.

The Whatleys have gone, and Pabay has changed hands three times since. But Pabay's fossils are still to be found in abundance. I was back there in the summer of 2018 and could hardly avoid stumbling across them. They continue to attract students of geology, as do the basaltic dykes that at one time forced their way from beneath the earth's surface, through the shales that had been laid down long before. This was part of the same process by which the mountains of what are now the Cuillins thrust their way upwards during a five-million-year period of immensely powerful volcanic activity that 65 million years ago erupted under what would become the North Atlantic ocean.

Pabay's role as an open-air case study in geological history will continue for decades to come. Despite its small size, it has a big story to reveal – one that stretches back into the era of the dinosaurs. Skye's jurassic island.

Christopher A. Whatley is Professor of Scottish History at the University of Dundee. He has written widely on early modern Scotland, particularly the Anglo-Scottish union, and has more recently published a history of Pabay, entitled 'Pabay: An Island Odyssey'. For their specialist advice during the preparation of this article the author would like to thank Dr Mike Taylor of the National Museums of Scotland and Emeritus Professor Rob Duck, University of Dundee.

FURTHER READING

Autumns in Skye, Ross & Sutherland (Edinburgh and London, 1930), T. Ratcliffe Barnett

'Appreciating Geology and the Physical Landscape in Scotland: From Tourism of Awe to Experiential Re-engagement', *Geological Society, Special Publications*, 417 (January 2015), J.E Gordon and M. Baker, 25-40

The Cruise of the Betsey (Edinburgh, 1858, 1889 ed.), H. Miller

Hugh Miller: Stonemason, Geologist, Writer (Edinburgh, 2007), M.A. Taylor

Pabay: An Island Odyssey (Edinburgh, 2019), C.A. Whatley

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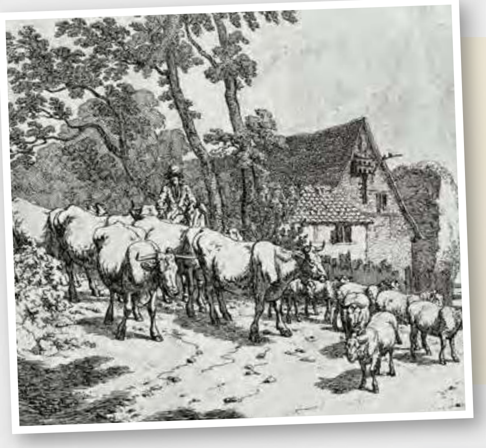

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PARASITES: BATTLE FOR SURVIVAL

A look at Scotland's historic – and current – role in medical research around tropical parasitic diseases. **By Sophie Goggins,** Curator of Biomedical Science at National Museums Scotland

Mosquito from the collections of National Museums Scotland

Parasites: Battle for Survival opened at National Museums Scotland in December. The exhibition highlights contemporary Scottish research around five tropical parasitic diseases: malaria, schistosomiasis, leishmaniasis, sleeping sickness and Guinea worm disease. These diseases affect one in eighteen people across the globe and thrive in rural, poor areas.

Scotland is a centre for excellence in tropical parasitology and *Parasites* draws on over a century of Scottish parasitology research. While the exhibition highlights contemporary research going on here in Scotland to combat these diseases, the history of Scottish scientists working in the field of parasitology goes back to the late 19th century.

Scottish scientists working across the globe discovered three of the diseases covered in the exhibition. Ronald Ross, William Leishman and David and Mary Bruce were all pivotal in identifying the diseases. Others made massive contributions to the field. This legacy continues today at the universities of Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Sleeping sickness, or African trypanosomiasis, is a disease that affects both humans and animals. The parasites enter the body through the bite of the tsetse fly and multiply in the blood before crossing the blood-brain barrier. Once there they cause changes in personality, confusion and changes in sleep. If untreated it can lead to death.

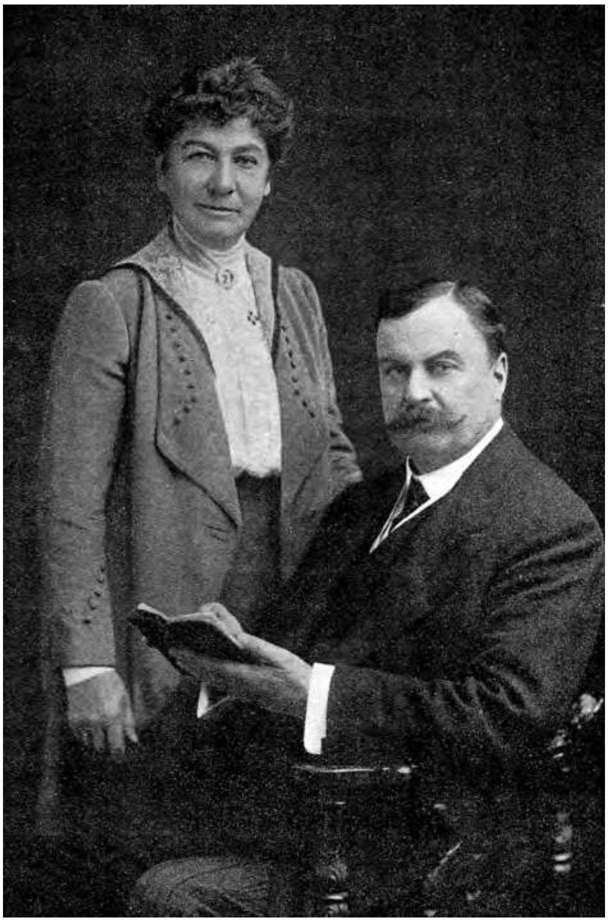
David Livingstone, the famous explorer and physician, first arrived in Africa in 1841. His work as a missionary and explorer put him in contact with a range of tropical diseases. Livingstone was instrumental in identifying how sleeping sickness is spread. He first suggested that the tsetse fly was the vector, or transmission device, for the type of sleeping sickness found in animals. Livingstone was the first person to publish on the use of arsenic as a treatment for sleeping sickness in animals. Arsenic continues to be a key component of drugs used to treat sleeping sickness in humans today.

Livingstone had suspected the tsetse fly was the transmission vector for sleeping sickness in animals but did not have evidence. In 1894 David and Mary Bruce travelled to South Africa to investigate an outbreak of the animal version of sleeping sickness, nagana. David Bruce was born in Australia to Scottish parents in 1855 and later travelled to Scotland to study medicine and zoology at the University of Edinburgh. He then became a member of the Army Medical Service where he confirmed that tsetse flies transmit sleeping sickness.

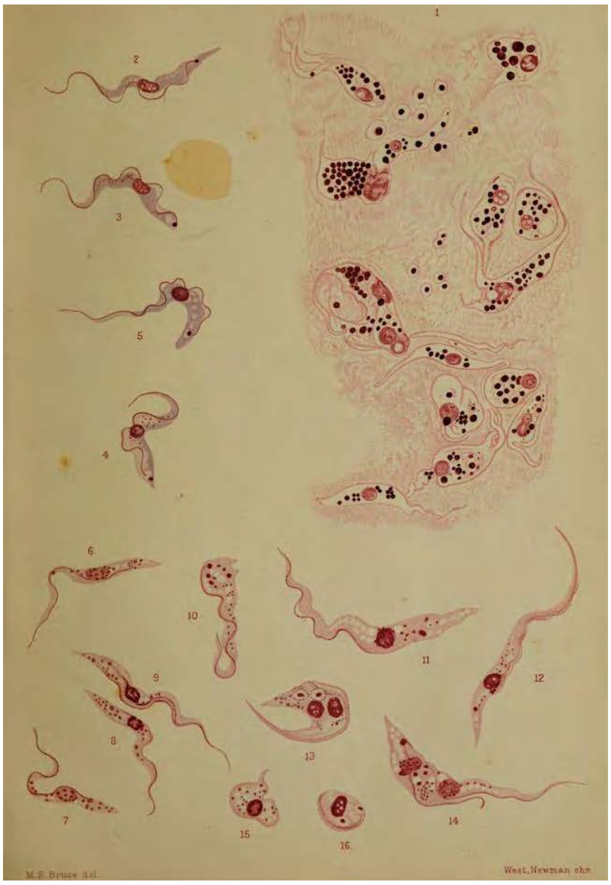
His greatest collaborator was his wife, Lady Mary Bruce, a scientist in her own right who was co-author on over 30 of his academic papers. Lady Bruce was instrumental in her husband's discoveries, working in the lab and producing the illustrations of the trypanosome parasite for publication. David Bruce died during his wife's funeral ceremony and shortly before his death he had insisted that any notice of his death must credit Lady Bruce for all of her work.

Mary Bruce was not the only female scientist of the early 1900s to study sleeping sickness. The lifecycle

LADY BRUCE WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN HER HUSBAND'S DISCOVERIES, WORKING IN THE LAB AND PRODUCING SCIENTIFIC ILLUSTRATIONS



Sir David Bruce and Mary Bruce, who investigated African trypanosomiasis



Mary Bruce's illustration for *Collected papers on Trypanosomiasis*

of these diseases is complicated, with multiple stages occurring in both the vector and humans. Muriel Robertson was born in Glasgow in 1883 and while studying for an Arts degree at the University of Glasgow, began studying zoology. It became her lifelong passion and she moved to Sri Lanka in 1907 to study trypanosomes, before moving to Uganda in 1911. There, she was the first person to describe developmental stages of sleeping sickness, which helped to identify the full life cycle of parasite in humans and tsetse flies.

On the shoulders of giants

In contemporary science, here in Scotland great strides are being made at the Wellcome Centre for Integrative Parasitology at the University of Glasgow. Dr Annette Macleod specialises in *Trypanosoma brucei*, the parasite that causes sleeping sickness. She investigates how sleeping sickness persists in some areas, despite intensive control methods. Alongside her team she sought to discover where parasites hide and how they spread.

An idea for where the parasites may be hiding came from their vector – the tsetse fly. Tsetse flies are like tiny flying chainsaws; their mouthparts tear up the skin and create a pool of blood and skin fluid. This has led to the idea that the parasites are hiding in the skin and the undetected parasites can then spread when a second tsetse fly takes a bite.

In 2014 Dr Macleod was part of an international team which revealed that the trypanosome parasite can actually invade and live undetected in people's skin. In some cases there can be so few parasites in the person's blood that current diagnostic methods cannot identify the individuals as being infected, which may finally explain how sleeping sickness has been able to persist and avoid elimination. This breakthrough has helped to identify how sleeping sickness has continued to spread and has provided a new focus for scientists.

Malaria research

Last year there were over 228 million cases of malaria, which claimed over 405,000 lives. A child dies of malaria every two minutes, but the disease can be prevented and cured with the right medicine.

While we often think of malaria as a disease of the global south, it was endemic in the United Kingdom until the 20th century and the United States did not eliminate it until the 1950s.

Malaria is transmitted through the bite of the female mosquito and at first causes fever, headache and chills, which are easy to mis-identify as another illness. After the onset of symptoms, malaria must be treated within 24 hours or it can become severe, leading to death.

Dr Livingstone suffered from malaria multiple times on his three trips to Africa and treated himself with quinine. His wife, Mary Livingstone, was not so lucky and died of the disease. Quinine had been known as a treatment for malaria by people who lived in the area but was popularised in the western world by William Balfour Baikie, a Scottish explorer who promoted the treatment after his expedition navigating the Niger river. Burroughs Wellcome, who produced the tabloid travelling medicine kit which is on display in *Parasites: Battle for Survival*, even created a line of quinine pills called 'Livingstone's Rousers'.

Patrick Manson is known as the father of tropical medicine and is a key figure in the history of parasitology as one of the founders of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Born in Aberdeenshire in 1844, he studied medicine at the University of Aberdeen and made a number of contributions to understanding parasitic diseases in his posts based in China. He encouraged other scientists to investigate parasitic diseases as part of their own work.

Manson's greatest protégé was Ronald Ross, another Scot, whom he persuaded to investigate the life cycle of the malaria parasite and mosquito transmission. Ross was an army surgeon who worked in India.

Above: Sir Ronald Ross and Lady Rosa Ross on the steps of his laboratory in 1898

Sir Ronald Ross became a Nobel prize winner for his discovery of the malaria parasite

On 20 August 1897, he discovered the connection between mosquitos and malaria. He won the second Nobel prize for medicine for his discovery of the malaria parasite in mosquitos, becoming the first British recipient. His discovery turned him into a vocal champion of mosquito control methods to cut down on cases of malaria. Identifying the transmission method for malaria allowed scientists to work on preventative treatments.

The work continues

This legacy continues today at the University of Edinburgh with the work of Dr Sarah Reece and her team, who investigate the lifestyle strategies that the malaria parasite has evolved. To thrive, malaria parasites have evolved sophisticated and complex strategies for survival and transmission. Dr Reece and her team have shown that malaria parasites can 'tell the time', scheduling their multiplication in blood to coincide with their host's mealtimes. By revealing what decisions parasites make, what information they use, and how their strategies maximise fitness, scientists can identify weak points to exploit in searching for a cure.

Leishmaniasis can manifest in different ways and causes a range of symptoms, from fever and anaemia to skin ulcers. In one type of leishmaniasis the parasites live in the ears, nose, mouth and lips. This causes the eating away of those parts of the body, illustrated in the exhibition by a pot from the Moche culture of Peru from between 300-600 AD. The imagery on the pot likely shows the brutal end effects of leishmaniasis.

Leishmaniasis is named after Glasgow scientist William Boog Leishman, who discovered the disease. After graduating with a degree in medicine from the University of Glasgow he joined the army medical corps and travelled to India. In 1900, he identified the parasite in a soldier who had died.

Henry Edward Shortt was the scientist who identified the vector, or transmission device, of leishmaniasis – the sandfly. Shortt was born in India in 1887 to Scottish parents and travelled to the University of Aberdeen to study. He then joined the Indian Medical Service and was one of the first scientists to introduce pentavalent antimony as a treatment for leishmaniasis in the early 1900s. This compound is still used in some medicines to treat leishmaniasis today.

Today there are still over a million new cases each year of leishmaniasis. Up to 65,000 people die of it every year, making it a priority to find new medicines which prevent or treat the disease. Dr Susan Wyllie, at the University of Dundee, is one of those scientists working to create new treatments. Dr Wyllie and her team focus on two main areas. Firstly, on understanding how specific drugs can kill parasites, and secondly, understanding how parasites become resistant to specific treatments. They have played a significant role in the development of two promising drugs for the treatment of visceral leishmaniasis that are now being assessed in human clinical trials. These treatments could save millions of lives.

Parasites: Battle for Survival showcases the collaborative work done by scientists here in Scotland while celebrating Scotland's historic contributions to science. Who knows? It is possible that one of the three diseases discovered by Scottish scientists may one day be eradicated by another.

Parasites: Battle for Survival is a free exhibition at the National Museum of Scotland: www.nms.ac.uk/parasites details.

ARTHUR JOHN BROCK'S NORTH QUEENSFERRY: THE FIRST CHAPTER

In this edition of Hidden Histories, **Neil McLennan** follows in the footsteps of Edinburgh doctor Arthur John Brock, who set up a medical facility in North Queensferry to aid World War I veterans, and wrote the town's history

Many readers will know of my work to unearth more on war poet Wilfred Owen's connections with the city of Edinburgh and the influences of Scotland on Owen's life and literature. Owen was a shell-shock patient at Craiglockhart War Hospital between June and November 1917 and as part of my research, Owen's Edinburgh doctor, Dr Arthur John Brock, has been a key figure in my thinking.

Brock, like his mentor Patrick Geddes, was a polymath; his interests were wide-ranging and included biology, botany, geography, local history and Greek antiquaries. After the Great War Brock lived in North Queensferry, where he used his house as a surgery/cottage hospital, helping World War I veterans and others distressed by mental trauma. Brock also did much for the local community through the North Queensferry Development Association and had a regular column in the *Dunfermline Press* where, between October 1932 to January 1934, he wrote almost fortnightly, tracing the history of the area through local history stories and snippets.

This article in my Hidden History trail has pleased me no end, firstly because of the strong connections to my main historic research interests and secondly as Fife has long been an area that is on my 'to do' list of places to cover in this series. Looking at the history of Fife through Brock's 1930s prose it feels a little like a Michael Portillo *Great British Railway Journeys* TV adventure, with a copy of *Bradshaw's* at hand! And so, to 'the Kingdom' of Fife-chronologically by foot first, then ferry, coach and ferry, and latterly train. Progress perhaps, or maybe not as we will later find out. Brock noted progress but also was keenly aware of perverse incentives.

The importance of location

The first thing to explore is the name, location and significance of the area. A recent *Holyrood Magazine* article had the strapline: 'Despite recent media interest, Fife can feel removed from the rest of Scotland'. Whilst the article was political

Far left: The Forth Bridge under construction, viewed from North Queensferry, 1887

Left: Dr Arthur John Brock

Historic hotels

The Albert in North Queensferry will feature in future articles, as it did in Brock's writing. It is no longer open, another marker of the shifting fortunes of the area, perhaps. Nearby, the **Ferrybridge Hotel**, is a 200-year-old coaching inn. More of this in the next issue.

The more famous hotel nearby is at the other side of 'the ferry', namely the **Hawes Inn** in South Queensferry. This coaching inn was once called the Newhalls Inn and changed its name at some point in the 19th century. Stagecoaches would stop here, and the Hawes garage across the road was a stables and garage. The inn remains famous for being the venue where Robert Louis Stevenson was inspired to write the novel *Kidnapped*, part of which he wrote whilst staying here, even giving the inn a mention in the story. The Hawes Inn is also mentioned in Stevenson's *Memories and Portraits* and Sir Walter Scott's *Antiquary*, in which it is described as 'a very decent sort of place'.

in nature, *was* Fife removed geographically and historically? Fife sat on the border of Northumbrian influence and Pictland before the political entities we know today. Later, Matthew Paris's (1200-59) map of Britain (Cotton, MS Claudius D VI fol 12 v, British Library) offers an impression of Britain. Whilst far from accurate, the places included and omitted are revealing. Of the 252 places recorded (including 81 cathedrals or monasteries, 41 castles and ports) 'Fif' features by name.

The map has Dunfermline marked on it clearly, however did those who used the map know of the ferry which gave access to 'the Kingdom': the queen's ferry that Queen Margaret used to travel between Edinburgh castle and the capital of Scotland? Malcolm III had made Dunfermline the seat of royal power and as such, the capital. Kings and queens, as Brock noted, passed through Dunfermline (and thus Fife), however, the title 'the Kingdom' is believed to have its roots in the Pictish Kingdom of Fib (715-691 BC).

Location was very important for Dr Arthur John Brock. He described North Queensferry as an 'isolated – almost an insular – position', noting 'from our peninsula we enjoy not only a very beautiful, but extensive outlook… we see in operation, all the arts of peace – and alas in preparation also see all the arts of war – by sea, by land and by air'.

In this almost Churchillian quote, Brock sets the scene for his journey through North Queensferry's history. In Brock's time, North Queensferry would have overlooked the assembling of the Great War Grand Fleet at Rosyth and laid out across the Firth of Forth. It had also seen the surrender of the German fleet ten days after the Armistice.

However, Brock's survey of the area began in the carboniferous era, laying the geological basis for the region, noting volcanoes and the peninsula as a mass of basalt, solidified lava. He laid out the areas of significance for the region (oil shale, carboniferous limestone, coal) before charting the beginnings of human life on the Ferry Hills peninsula.

Brock began his human history with a comparison between south Britain as largely civilised (i.e. Romanised) and Caledonia as a country of 'wild mountaineers'. He noted Tacitus's description of the natives of Caledonia having as reddish, yellow hair with huge limbs, which implied German origin. Brock mentioned the Roman camps at Crammond and Inveresk before sharing Agricola's crossing the Forth to fight the Caledonian tribes at Mon Graupius, which he stated was wrongly identified with the Grampians.

In the midst of that uncertainty Brock wrote that our 'history' of that era remained conjecture, even up to Roman times.

In setting the scene, Brock also shared frustrations at the antiquarian museum in Edinburgh losing an urn, possibly because they had so many, they did not need them.

A key theme of Brock's beliefs relates to localism; and Brock suggests a local museum as 'an educational experiment', perhaps not dissimilar to Geddes's Outlook Tower in Edinburgh.

Next, Brock was to chart the making of Scotland and the coming of christianity. We will follow his story and footsteps through North Queensferry, and with it the history of the nation, in my next column.

Follow Neil's journeys on our Hidden Histories podcast: http://scot.sh/his-podcast

DIARY DATES

Arbroath 700

2020 marks the 700th anniversary of the Declaration of Arbroath, with several high-profile celebratory events, from a horse-drawn procession to a rare display of this iconic medieval document

The **town of Arbroath** will launch a six-month-long festival programme with a horse-led procession of over 500 people marching from Arbroath abbey to Arbroath harbour, and a re-enactment of the Declaration of Arbroath sailing to France in 1320. The events programme also includes a festival concert and a display of the Arbroath tapestry.

The Declaration of Arbroath will be displayed at the **National Museum of Scotland** from 27 March to 26 April 2020, marking its 700th anniversary. The document has not been on public display for fifteen years.

History Scotland, in partnership with the **Centre for Scottish Culture**, is holding the fourth instalment of the *History Scotland* Lectures on 28 April at the University of Dundee, when Dr Fiona Watson will deliver the lecture 'For glory, riches and honour: the rocky road to the Declaration of Arbroath'. For details visit: https://scot.sh/hslecture4

The **Declaration of Arbroath Family History Project** headed up by the University of Strathclyde will reach its conclusion in the coming months, with a symposium, conference and an exhibition, all presenting the results of a project to explore the ancestors and descendants of those who signed the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320.

Discover more events and exhibitions on our website: **www.historyscotland.com/events**

EXHIBITION

Industry & Aesthetics, until 19 April
A selection of photographs that aim to capture the everyday, the exceptional, the marginalised, the ignored and the undervalued within our industrial heritage.
Stirling Castle, Stirling FK8 1EJ

LECTURE

Wooden vessels from iron age Scotland – to carve or to turn, 31 March

A talk by Anne Crone on behalf of the First Millennia Studies Group. Starts at 6pm.
Appleton Tower, Lecture Theatre 2,
University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh EH8 9LE

COURSE

Archives for beginners, 6 March

Course run by the Highland Archive Centre, cost £60 (£48 concession) for a set of six classes. Starts 10am. For more information, tel: 01349 781130
Highland Archive Centre, Bught Road,
Inverness IV3 5SS

EXHIBITION

Scotland's Coasts, until 17 May

This exhibition, drawn from Historic Environment Scotland's archives, explores Scotland's relationship to the sea and its impact on everyday life.
Shetland Museum & Archives,
Hay's Dock, Lerwick ZE1 0WP

EVENT

World Heritage Day, 18 April
Celebrate the country's six UNESCO World Heritage sites with events featuring the Forth Bridge, Antonine Wall, New Lanark, Heart of Neolithic Orkney, Edinburgh Old Town & New Town and St Kilda.
Website: https://scot.sh/world

TALK

Pabay: an island story, 25 February
An evening with Professor Christopher Whatley, discussing his recent book *Pabay: An Island Story*, hailed by reviewers as 'a jewel of memoir' and 'one of the finest highland books of the 21st century'. 6pm-8pm. Register at: https://scot.sh/pabay
Dalhousie Building, Lecture Theatre 4,
University of Dundee, Dundee. DD1 4HN

EXHIBITION
Tyrannosaurs, until 4 May

The most comprehensive exhibition ever mounted on tyrannosaurs will make its only European appearance when it opens at the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh in January. *Tyrannosaurs* (23 January to 4 May) will explore the most feared and revered of all dinosaurs, bringing the latest discoveries in paleontology to life and challenging preconceptions about these ferocious predators.

Raphael Tuck.
London.
The Fair Maid's House, Perth.
Copyright.
Pth. 1

EXHIBITION
A Taste of the Past, until 21 March
Explore how Perth has changed over the years with this photographic exhibition at Perth Museum & Art Gallery featuring eleven shops in and around the city. Each of these shops, hotels, cafes, restaurants and bakeries tell a story about food in Perth, using photographs taken between 1876 to 1948 and today.

Study the buildings and notice elements of the structures that have changed over the years, and find out about the characters and history behind these businesses. The images have been selected from the Photographic Collection at Perth Museum & Art Gallery and also from within the Perth & Kinross Archive at AK Bell Library in Perth.

Subscribe to *History Scotland*,
save money and receive a free gift.
See page 52 or visit the website at:

EXHIBITION

Dargs and Drams, until 21 June

An exhibition showcasing the story of life at some of Scotland's most iconic industries and landmarks. Visual artist Kate Steenhauer showcases a woollen mill, lifestock auction and an Aberdeen shipyard.
Duff House, Banff AB45 3SX

LECTURE

James Sutherland: botanist, antiquary and numismatist, 30 April
In this talk we will learn more about the man behind the garden that was to become the Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh and explore his catalogue, the *Hortus Medicus Edinburgensis* (1683) of the plants growing in that garden. Starts 6pm. Free entry, book at: https://scot.sh/james
Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 20a Inverleith Row, Edinburgh EH3 5LR

EVENT

Capturing Classical Edinburgh with Edinburgh Sketcher, 7 March
Join local artist Edinburgh Sketcher (Mark Kirkham) on a walking tour to capture some of the city's beautiful architecture in ink and watercolour.
Starts 10am, booking essential at: https://scot.sh/sketcher

EXHIBITION

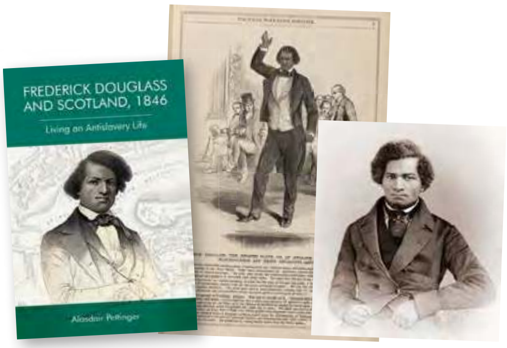
George Washington Wilson: Queen Victoria's Photographer in Scotland, 8 March to 5 July
George Washington Wilson was among the best known of 19th-century royal photographers. This display includes royal portraits made for Queen Victoria's personal photograph collection alongside Wilson's beautiful views of Scotland.
University of Aberdeen Library, Bedford Road, Aberdeen AB24 3AA

LECTURE

Blitzkreig: myth and reality, 3 March
The term Blitzkrieg brings up images of German military successes in the initial stages of the Second World War. Retired Major General Mungo Melvin will discuss how an overwhelming combination of air power and armoured forces defeated a succession of opponents, relying on a lethal cocktail of surprise, speed and shock action.
Black Watch Museum, Balhousie Castle, Hay Street, Perth PH1 5HR

A life to remember

Shaun Wallace reflects on a new assessment of the 1846 visit to Scotland by the abolitionist Frederick Douglass


FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND SCOTLAND, 1846
Living an Antislavery Life
Alasdair Pettinger

Frederick Douglass and Scotland, 1846: Living an Antislavery Life
Alasdair Pettinger
Edinburgh University Press, 2018
376 pages
Hardcover, £80.00
ISBN: 9781474444255

'I was born in Tuckahoe, near Hillsborough, and about twelve miles from Easton, in Talbot county, Maryland. I have no accurate knowledge of my age, never having seen any authentic record containing it'. The opening lines of Frederick Douglass's 1845 narrative encapsulate the dehumanising and exploitative foundations of the American slave system: its denial of identity and personhood to enslaved persons. Douglass's interest in knowing when he was born never ceased. In time, the date was revealed by his former master, Captain Auld, to have been around February 1818 (*Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, 1881).

The bicentennial of America's most famous formerly-enslaved fugitive's birth was commemorated in 2018-19, with Douglass celebrated as one of the most influential African American abolitionists, orators and writers. Following Celeste-Marie Bernier and Andrew Taylor's *If I Survive: Frederick Douglass and Family in the Walter O. Evans Collection* (2018), a study of the activism of the Douglass family through unseen primary material, comes Alasdair Pettinger's *Frederick Douglass and Scotland, 1846: Living an Antislavery Life* (2018).

Frederick Douglass and Scotland is the first comprehensive examination of Douglass's visit to Scotland in 1846. Pettinger skilfully navigates manuscript collections on both sides of the Atlantic as well as abolitionist tracts and speeches, meticulously entwining this material with Douglass's own writings to take the reader on a tour of Scotland alongside the abolitionist. It is a study rich in evidence and supported with a comprehensive bibliography. The surprise omission from the bibliography is Bernier and Taylor's book, although it is presumed *Frederick Douglass and Scotland* had already been sent to print.

Pettinger skilfully navigates manuscript collections on both sides of the Atlantic as well as abolitionist tracts and speeches, meticulously entwining this material with Douglass's own writings

The chapter structure of the book might divide readers. It is not organised chronologically, but instead presented in six parts, comprising 29 chapters. This is, in Pettinger's own words, to 'follow his [Douglass's] movements in Scotland, watching him gaining the confidence, mastering the skills and fashioning the distinctive voice and public image that transformed him as a campaigner' (p.24). Pettinger does this – and does it exceptionally well – but the short chapters undermine the fluency of the discussion, which feels disjointed in places.

Part I details Douglass's outward voyage from the United States to Britain, and part V his return trip. There are also especially insightful discussions of Douglass's role in the 'Send the Money Back' campaign (part II), and the influence of Robert Burns and Walter Scott on Douglass's work (part III).

In this reviewer's opinion, the discussion of Douglass's attitudes towards Victorian visual culture, particularly as regards his relationship with phrenologist George Combe (Part IV), is the weakest section of the book. Pettinger's analysis of racial science and blackface minstrelsy performances offers some insight into the corrupting influences at work on the audiences Douglass encountered. However, it stands out – in the wrong way. An exploration of Douglass's development as a campaigner does need to consider these influences, but could do so much more briefly.

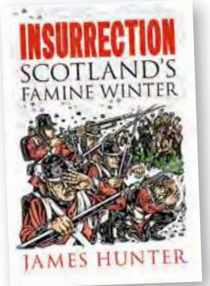
Frederick Douglass and Scotland is an ambitious and highly original work that is an exciting new addition to the historiography. It addresses both the need for more recognition of Douglass in Scottish historiography, and also of Scotland in studies of Douglass in the United States. It is thoroughly researched, and the author has done an impressive job of using source material to reveal Douglass's visit to Scotland as a truly transformative episode in the abolitionist's life.

What is even more impressive is that the author does so using Douglass's words, precisely how they were intended, and in the context in which they occurred. In doing so, he presents Douglass as 'someone who can be, and is, invoked, reimagined, recruited by the politics of the present' (p. 299).

Shaun Wallace is a Lecturer in History at the University of Bristol.

The great hunger

Sandy Thomson discusses an exposé of how Scottish communities battled hardship during the 1846-47 potato famine



Insurrection: Scotland's Famine Winter
James Hunter
Birlinn, 2019
304 pages
Hardcover, £20.00
ISBN: 9781780276229

With the 1976 publication of his groundbreaking book *The Making of the Crofting Community*, James Hunter established his place as our foremost historian of the Scottish highlands. That reputation has been cemented over the years by books including *Set Adrift on the World* (2015), which chronicled the Sutherland clearances, and *A Dance Called America* (1994), which traced the lives of the cleared highlanders in their new homes across the Atlantic.

In *Insurrection*, Hunter, now emeritus professor of History at the University of the Highlands and Islands, shines a light on a series of dramatic and little known episodes from the winter of 1846-47. These were the 'disturbances' that took place in towns and villages from Fort William in the west to Aberdeen in the east, as communities faced the consequences of the failure of the potato crop. With the exception of the late Eric Richards' 1982 article 'The Last Scottish Food Riots' in the academic journal *Past and Present*, this is a topic that has escaped serious scholarly attention.

The potato blight *Phytophthora infestans* arrived in western Europe in 1845. It wiped out more than one third of the crop in Ireland, and the Irish Great Hunger – *an Gorta Mór* – has been well documented. Less familiar is the story of the Scottish famine the following year. Hunter gives us very powerful and moving accounts of its impact in the west highlands and the Hebrides, where unsympathetic landlords like John Gordon of Cluny, owner of South Uist, Barra and Benbecula, chose to ignore the suffering of his tenants, who faced starvation and premature death.

But the insurrection of the book's title did not take place in the Western Isles, and was not directly about a shortage of potatoes. Instead it was triggered by the knock-on effects of the potato blight – namely the consequent rise in the price of grain, especially oats, as farmers sought to cash in on increased demand in the lowlands and English cities.

The aim of the rioters was to prevent grain from being loaded onto ships and delivered to southern markets

Grain prices almost doubled in the winter of 1846-47. To the owners of the newly consolidated farms in the rich grain-growing lands around the Moray Firth, it made sense to ship large quantities to the burgeoning urban markets in the south, instead of making small sales in the local markets. But the ideology of free market capitalism now clashed head-on with a widespread belief that trade should be 'fair'. Thus, while it was the poor and hungry who rioted – in Wick, Inverness, the Black Isle, the Morayshire and Banffshire coasts, inland at Grantown and south to Aberdeen – they attracted sympathy from the so-called 'respectable' classes, many of whom refused the call to serve as special constables to control the rioters.

The aim of the rioters was to prevent grain from being loaded onto ships and delivered to southern markets. By overturning farmers' carts, blocking harbours and attacking grain merchants' homes, they succeeded in stopping grain shipments from harbours all round the Moray coast. Hunter concludes that their immediate victory consisted of a marked improvement in available food supplies as prices fell and local fundraising by business people, churches and others allowed meal to be sold cheaply to those most in need.

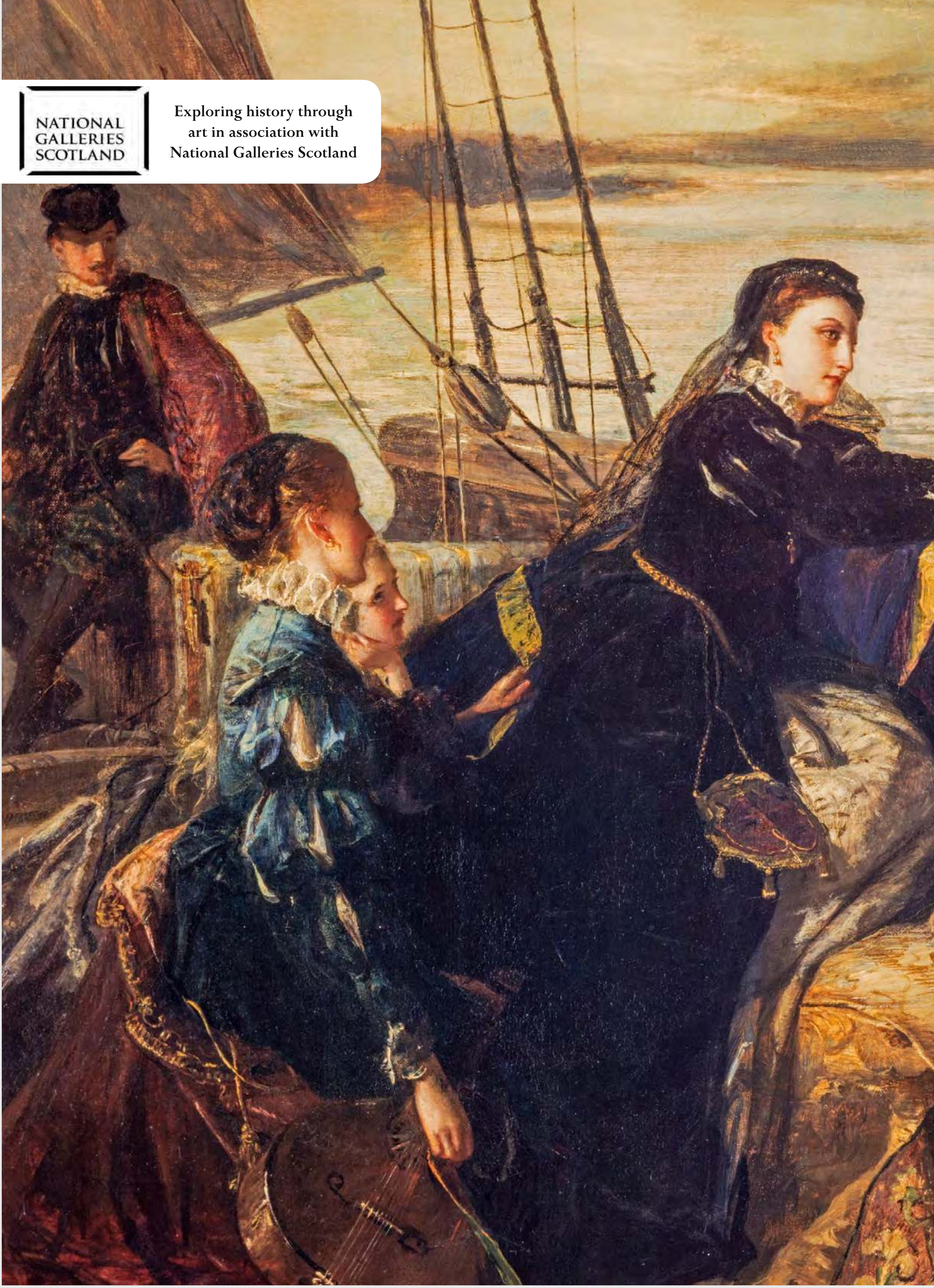
Hunter is not an econometric historian. Although this book is thoroughly grounded in document research, you will search in vain for sophisticated charts correlating changes in grain prices with mortality rates. However, Hunter is justly renowned for his ability to engage our interest in, and sympathy with, real human beings.

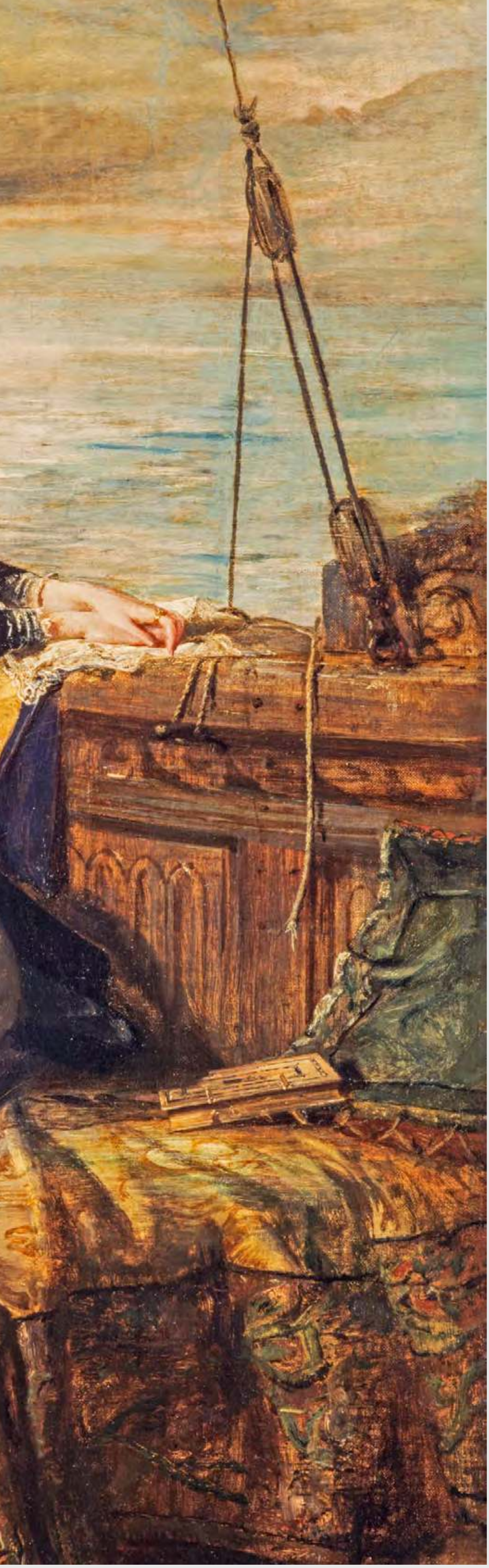
Examples include the twelve-year-old drummer boy from the Merkinch in Inverness, roused from his bed to lead a protest march through the streets of the town, or the three women from Hopeman on the Moray coast who walked 80 miles to Kinlochlaggan to seek a royal pardon from Queen Victoria for their menfolk imprisoned on the Thames. It is this focus on humanity that makes Hunter's books so accessible to the non-specialist reader. A paperback edition would make this one even more accessible.

There is something very timely about this publication. With the current urging to 'buy local' and minimise 'food miles', with Extinction Rebellion demanding controls on the exploitation of natural resources and with a much-needed foodbank in Inverness, *Insurrection* has a relevance far beyond the highlands and the north.

Sandy Thomson is a Cromarty-based retired senior lecturer in education at Strathclyde University. His first degree was in economic history.

Exploring history through art in association with National Galleries Scotland





FAREWELL TO FRANCE

A grieving Mary Queen of Scots bids farewell to her childhood home after the death of her husband Francis II in this 19th-century oil painting

In 1867, the Glasgow Art Union commissioned Herdman to paint four pictures to illustrate episodes from the life of Mary, Queen of Scots. The literary source for the pictures was the popular poem about Mary by the Glaswegian lawyer Henry Glassford Bell.

In 1863 the Queen's Theatre in Edinburgh had staged a series of *tableaux vivants* based on Bell's poem. The success of these performances may well have prompted the Art Union's commission to Herdman. This is the second picture in the set. It depicts the young queen's ill-fated return to Scotland in 1561 after the death of her first husband Francis II of France. In 1868, the entire set was offered as first prize to subscribers to the Union's annual lottery.

THE ARTIST

Robert Herdman (1829-88)

Robert Herdman specialised in painting portraits and Scottish historical subjects, but also produced some notable landscapes in watercolour. He was a student of Robert Scott Lauder at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh and was encouraged to draw from nature. He was also strongly influenced by Lauder's admiration for the rich colour of Venetian painting and travelled to Italy at least twice.

Herdman established a successful practice in Edinburgh and was elected to the Royal Scottish Academy in 1863.

THE PAINTING

Robert Herdman (1829-88)
Mary, Queen of Scots: The Farewell to France, dated 1867.
Oil on canvas, 91.8 x 71.4 cm, collection: National Galleries of Scotland, bequest of Miss Mary Beatrice Maude Herdman 1995, photo: Antonia Reeve.

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Spotlight on...

Loch Ard Local History Group

The Loch Ard Local History Group which serves the communities of Stronachlachar, Inversnaid, Kinlochard and Aberfoyle, was started in 1999 and is still going strong 20 years later.

The group has met regularly since its inception and its activities centre around an annual winter programme that runs from October through to April/May, and comprises a monthly talk on a topic of local interest. The group also runs a local interest programme each December where members are invited to talk about an issue of historical research relevant to the local area.

Members also enjoy summer excursions and in recent years, have enjoyed trips to several sites of historical interest in Loch Ard forest, including Bruach Caoruinn, a ruin which may date back to as the late 15th century.

Recently, the group hosted an exhibition titled *Water To Glasgow*, celebrating their 20th anniversary and the 160th anniversary of the opening of the Loch Katrine aqueduct, which was opened by Queen Victoria on 14 October 1859. Members of the public were invited to bring along old photos of the area in years gone by and these were scanned and added to the group's archive.

In its early days the group produced a very popular calendar which featured images acquired at a scanning day and exhibition held in 1999. More recently, members published a book by long standing member Louis Stott called *The Enchantment of the Trossachs*.

The society's programme is published on the Kinlochard village website: www.kinlochard.org and also on the listings of the Scottish Local History Forum.

How to join

The group's meetings are held at Kinlochard Village Hall, usually on a Wednesday evening but check the website for details. Visitors are welcome. For more information on the group, contact secretary Joyce Kelly on tel: 01877 387292; e-mail: kelly10kelly@btinternet.com

Health board records

Ken Nisbet explains how to find records relating to an ancestor who spent time in one of the country's hospitals.

Discover more about family history at: www.family-tree.co.uk the online home of Family Tree magazine

One of the most popular classes that the Scottish Genealogy Society runs is on health board records. Although the commercial genealogy site **Ancestry** has registration records for Scottish nurses and also has medical directories for doctors, commercial websites such as this one do not hold the bulk of records, particularly those of patients.

Scottish Indexes has a searchable index to mental health records held by National Records of Scotland: https://scot.sh/indexes. MC2 covers 'Notices of Admissions by the Superintendent of Mental Institutions 1858–1860', MC7 is 'General Register of Lunatics in Asylums' and covers those admitted to Scottish asylums between 1807 and 4 March 1893. The site also covers Kelso Dispensary patient registers from December 1777 to May 1783.

Wellcome Collection has records for the Crichton Institute, Dumfries, for the period 1823-2008: https://scot.sh/crichton, and **The Historical Hospital Admission Records Project**: http://hharp.org/ holds admission records for the Royal Sick Children Glasgow hospital from 1883 to 1903.

A death certificate may indicate that an ancestor died in hospital and if so, this can be a good starting point for accessing the records. Once you have established the name of the hospital you need to determine which health board archives hold the records.

Lothian Health Services Archive www.lhsa.lib.ed.ac.uk/ covers the Lothians, **NHS Greater Glasgow & Clyde Archives** https://scot.sh/glaarchives covers Greater Glasgow and Clyde. **NHS Grampian Archives** https://scot.sh/nhs covers the Grampian area and **University of Dundee Archive Services** https://scot.sh/dundee covers Tayside.

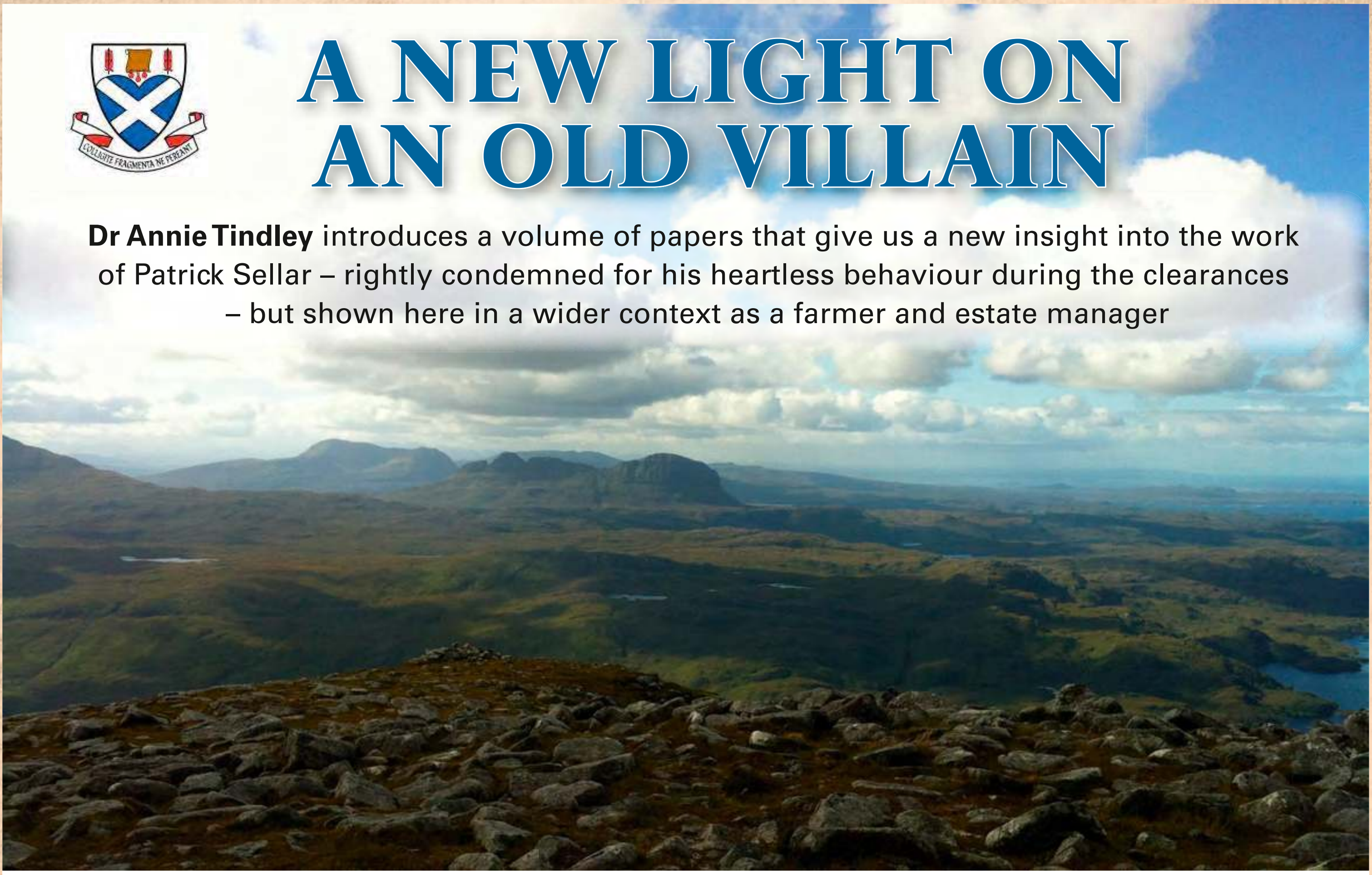
For other areas simply enter the phrase 'health board archives' with the name of the area into your search engine. Patient records will normally only be available where they are over 100 years old. The records, if they exist, should tell you when your relative entered the hospital and which ward they were in when they died. In some situations, full patient records may also exist.

the
Scottish
Genealogy
Society

Ken Nisbet is secretary of the Scottish Genealogy Society and of the Scottish Association of Family History Societies and is on the user group for the Family History Centre in Edinburgh. He is a regular lecturer to Scotland's family history societies. He has written a number of books, all of which are published by the Scottish Genealogy Society, and tutors some of the classes the society runs.

A NEW LIGHT ON AN OLD VILLAIN

Dr Annie Tindley introduces a volume of papers that give us a new insight into the work of Patrick Sellar – rightly condemned for his heartless behaviour during the clearances – but shown here in a wider context as a farmer and estate manager



The papers shed light on Sellar's views of the people who carved out a living on highland estates

The name of Patrick Sellar echoes down from the early 19th century into the present day as one of Scotland's worst villains (see our article on page 16). Architect and executor of some of the worst examples of the highland clearances, heartless moderniser and the man who escaped a capital sentence when tried for culpable homicide in 1816 on a technicality, Sellar will always be guilty in the eyes of posterity.

But what about his record as an improving farmer and agriculturalist? Looking at the two full volumes of papers transcribed from the horse's mouth – in this case, the management of the Sutherland estates – the researcher can glean a quite different view of Sellar and what drove him. These volumes were published in the early 1970s, before the estates papers had been deposited in the National Library of Scotland and so were, and still are, a critical resource for historians interested in the sweeping social and economic changes being made in the north of Scotland in the 'age of improvement'.

Sellar features prominently in these papers, being a vociferous correspondent, commenting on all aspects of the Sutherland estates management, the local people and their faults, and his own revolutionary farm management. Sellar was without doubt one of the most influential and successful farmers of the age, improving and modernising the lands under his sway, most effectively at Culmaily. He would die a rich man and a landowner in Argyll in his own right, but his reputation was always overshadowed by the horrors of the clearances.

As these volumes show, he was fiercely critical of what he alleged were the lazy and habitually drunken people of Sutherland, arguing that they should be encouraged to emigrate rather than continue as a 'burden' on the pockets of the earls of Sutherland. The methods he and his employees utilised to carry out the evictions in Kildonan became infamous, not least the burning of houses once the occupants had been physically forced out, and in many ways, it was these methods, and the improving ideology which drove them, that were put on trial in 1816.

These volumes put Sellar into his wider context and allow the researcher to come to their own conclusion about the rights and wrongs of Patrick Sellar.

'Patrick Sellar, Culmaily and the Highland Clearances', *Papers on Sutherland Estate Management 1802-1816*, edited by R. J. Adam, volumes 8 and 9, series 4 (1972). Read the text at: https://scot.sh/sellar

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FINAL WORD

Dr Catherine Eagleton, Director of Museums, University of St Andrews, talks to us about the newly-named Wardlaw Museum at the University of St Andrews, which is due to be revealed to the public this spring

What is the reason behind the decision to change the name of the museum?

For the last two years, we've been working on a reimagination of the museums at the University of St Andrews. MUSA (the Museum of the University of St Andrews, on the Scores) opened in 2008 and was very successful for ten years – but it had reached capacity. So, for the last two years we've been working on a major project to extend the museum, creating 50 per cent more space, a new temporary exhibitions space, and new displays in four thematic galleries. The new museum will take visitors inside the university and its ground-breaking research and global impact, and we wanted to recognise the transformation of the museum as well as the 600-year history of the University by naming it after the founder and first chancellor, Bishop Wardlaw.

What work has been taking place whilst the museum has been closed?

While the museum has been closed it has been busy behind the scenes. We have been running events and educational programmes at the Bell Pettigrew Museum of Natural History and around Fife, as well as continuing our university teaching and research projects. We have also been working with staff and students across the university to develop the new displays for the Wardlaw Museum, adding new objects to the collections and uncovering new stories that we'll feature in the displays.

Are there any items from the collections that will appear in the museum which haven't been on display for a while?

The university's collections include approximately 115,000 objects, so it is only ever possible to show a selection. The Wardlaw Museum will feature a broader range of the collections, as well as showcasing the results of new research and collecting. From an extraordinary Thai silver zodiac bowl to prototype LEDs from the 1970s, beautiful models of plants and flowers to a NASA telegram that accompanied moon rock samples sent for analysis in St Andrews, and artworks from our Boswell Collection, the new displays will feature many objects that have not been on display before, alongside some better-known objects like the university's medieval maces.

Are you able to give us any clues as to what exhibitions are coming in 2020?

The Wardlaw Museum will open with an exhibition by St Andrews graduate Philip Colbert, a neo-pop surrealist artist who is creating a major new work inspired by an epic oil painting of the murder of another St Andrews graduate, Jean-Paul Marat. Alongside that, there will be a display curated by students on our Museum & Gallery Studies course, featuring a book created in 1875 by photographer Julia Margaret Cameron in collaboration with poet Lord Alfred Tenyson. The major summer exhibition will showcase research into the medieval history of St Andrews, bringing together objects that have not been displayed together since they were dispersed after the reformation in the 16th century, and digital reconstructions of medieval buildings.

We are already working on the exhibitions for 2021 and 2022, on a wide range of topics in art, history and science, but are keeping those under wraps for a little while longer! As well as the exhibitions, we are planning an exciting programme of events and educational activities, and the Wardlaw Museum will be open seven days a week. People can keep an eye on our social media and website, or sign up for our email newsletter, for the latest information.

@MuseumsUniStA
www.st-andrews.ac.uk/museums

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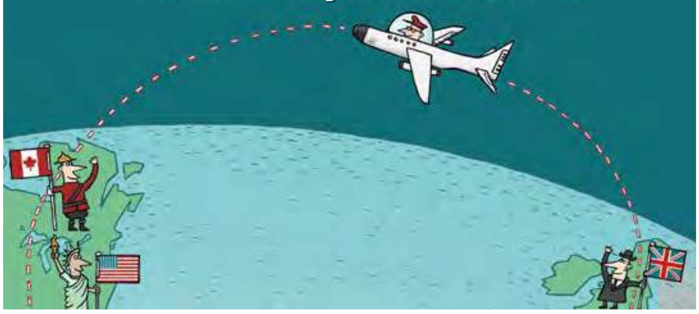

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January Insider – research opportunities, website of the month and more...

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Bright Star: The Art & Life of James VI/I

National Galleries Scotland announced their 2020 programme recently, including a major exhibition on James VI/I, the largest for forty years. Bright Star: The Art and Life of James VIwill explore the king's life through a variety of mediums, including paintings, dress, textiles, miniatures, manuscripts and jewellery.

Digital heritage project

Two digital heritage tourism research projects at the University of the Highlands and Islands are amongst nine projects in the Highlands and Islands selected to share a £5 million European Regional Development Fund.